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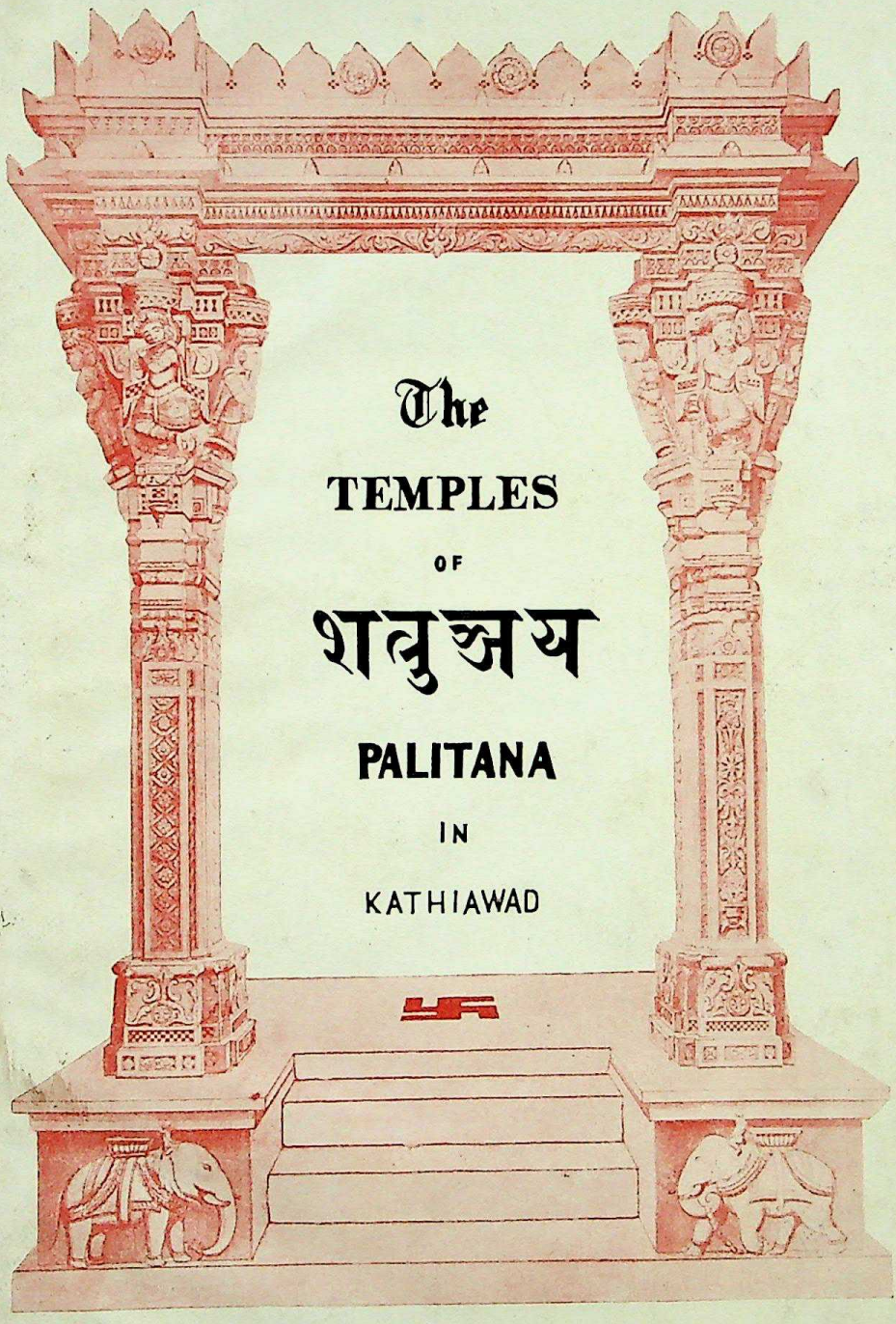

The TEMPLES OF शत्रुञ्जय PALITANA IN KATHIAWAD

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The Temples of Satrunjaya

JAMES BURGESS

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The Temples of Satrunjaya

The Celebrated Jaina Place of Pilgrimage
near Palitana in Kathiawad

Photographed by Sykes and Dwyer
With Historical and Descriptive Introduction
by
JAMES BURGESS, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.

Completely revised with additional materials, notes and up-to-date informations

जैन भवन
JAIN BHAWAN
CALCUTTA

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FOREWORD

James Burgess who was at one time Director-General of the Archaeological Surveys in India in the latter half of the nineteenth century is the author of *The Temples of Satrunjaya* which deals with a wide range of monuments dedicated to the life and realisation of the Jaina Tirthankaras. This is a majestic volume produced as early as 1869 when he still did not assume the duties of conducting an organised archaeological survey in Western India preceding his afore-mentioned appointment as the Director-General. The publication carefully prepared in the nature of an elegant portfolio of photographs vividly describes and visualises the shrines crowning the summits of a mountain hallowed with the memory of Rsabhantha. As recorded by the tradition emanating from a remote antiquity the first Tirthankara, the son of Nabhi and Marudevi, visited the Mount for meditation. Thus Satrunjaya became a great *tīrtha* and was later on visited by a host of saintly followers of the tenets of the Nirgrantha. They yearned for the ultimate knowledge and thereby for the final bliss of the *nirvāṇa*. Being rich in details the historical and descriptive Introduction of Burgess has a brilliance of its own. The entire volume helps in comprehension of a saga of architectonic form which defines the eternal glory of the Jinas as the omniscient. Standing in the perspective of a solitary landscape stretching below the canopy of heaven the sanctuaries of Satrunjaya are ever eloquent of devotion and faith. In view of the immense importance of this rare volume we have made a modest endeavour to publish it anew in a small

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dimension. The original volume contains large plates. Even about a century ago Sykes & Dwyer photographed the temples with an admirable skill. In the present volume these plates have been reduced to accommodate the allotted space. In order to maintain accuracy in respect of the subject involved we have attempted as far as practicable to revise the text when essential honouring the work of the pioneer. Burgess belonged to the group of such great archaeologists in India who laid the foundation-stone of knowledge with regards to our history and monuments and had the vision for progress in the relevant branches of the discipline.

It is a pleasant obligation to convey our thanks to Sri P. C. Das Gupta, Director of Archaeology, Govt. of West Bengal for kindly preparing the Introduction and the concise biographical sketch of Burgess. We also convey our grateful thanks to Sri B. S. Nahar, at whose kind inspiration and guidance this immense and laborious task was undertaken and completed.

GANESH LALWANI

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Introduction

The splendour of architecture as a crowning achievement of taste and inspiration for the realisation of Eternity has been seldom reflected as it is amidst the profound panorama of Satrunjaya famed for its city of nearly a thousand temples. Rising about two thousand feet above seal-level at the south of Palitana in Kathiawad the ancient crests visualise the holy grandeur of a Jaina *mahātīrtha*. Sanctified by the memory of Krsna, Balarama, Adinatha and Aristanemi as also the idylls of the Yadavas who migrated to Dvaraka from Mathura, the region of Gujarat has a perspective of history extending to a remote antiquity. From the days of the Harappan port of Lothal down to the epochs of the Mauryas, the Ksaharatas, the Guptas and the Calukyas the peninsula of Kathiawad had its own aura of importance which also shone through following centuries across the age of the Mughals. The Asokan edict at Girnar and the inscriptions at Junagarh engraved in epochs ranging from the days of Rudradaman and Skandagupta to the age of the Calukyas will highlight such an importance. It was in this context and in comparable fields in other parts of India James Burgess found himself engaged in the task of enquiry for which Indians will remain ever grateful to him. With his usual attachment for art and love for details he initiated a new discipline of study as an unforgettable stalwart in the age of Sir Alexander Cunningham in the nineteenth century. In fact, before he was entrusted with the regular programme of archaeological survey in West India in 1873 James Burgess already prepared valuable inventories and portfolios of photographs in respect of monuments scattered from Sind to Hyderabad across the then Central Provinces. Being an architect himself he deeply appreciated the ancient shrines and other edifices rich in their inspiring and symbolic styles. Obviously, his attention was drawn to the monuments of Somnath, Satrunjaya, Junagarh and Girnar before the year. With the greatest care as possible in those

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days Burgess brought out portfolios of photographs on these treasures of architecture and, thus, introduced them to the academic world. When in 1886 he became Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India his devotion and genius greatly enhanced the importance of Indological studies by bringing to light the grandeur and sensitivity of an array of temples, *stūpas*, caves and mosques so long little known to the West. His works invariably acquired a classic significance. While his survey of the Buddhist *stūpas* at Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta and similar achievements with regards to ancient cave-temples in the Deccan and other monuments in the south are significant in all respects, his account of the Jaina temples at Satrunjaya is also a masterpiece in its own dimension. The quality of the volume remains fascinating though it recalls an age when the subtle differences between the religion of the Nirgrantha and the tenets of Buddhism were yet unknown to the foreigners. Even as early as the 7th century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang made an error in this respect for which one may wonder whether the court of Harsavardhana was responsible. In the perspective of Indological studies the massive volume on Satrunjaya will inevitably draw our admiration. Published by Sykes & Dwyer in Bombay in 1869, *The Temples of* शत्रुंजय *Palitana in Kathiawad* include 45 large Plates. The temples and edifices dealt with in this volume were photographed by Sykes & Dwyer with a rare artistry and appreciation as usually unexpected with camera work about a hundred years ago. The historical and descriptive introduction of Burgess and the corresponding plates make rare combination revealing as it were the grandeur of a city of shrines which embellishes two summits of a mountain. The monuments with their surrounding crenellated walls occupy the high ridges and their connecting saddle amidst a picturesque landscape which appropriately creates a mystic atmosphere. Satrunjaya with all its glory stands as if solitary in the panorama of Time. Unlike the abandoned Inca city of Machu Picchu high above the river Urubamba in the Andes in South America which has an auriole of mystery on the path of history Satrunjaya with its lonely splendour of marble temples dedicated to Tirthankaras will appear as an island for the faithful on his voyage to Eternity. In conformity with ancient legends the name of the Mountain does not signify any victory over mortal foes but a triumph over the worldly attachments of the self. Thus, according to tradition the Mountain is the epitome of all that is purest and sublime. Associated with the holy reminiscences of Rsabhanatha, the first Tirthankara and his chief disciple and Ganadhara Pundarika, Satrunjaya

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has been from time immemorial the sacred Mount for devotees yearning for the final knowledge and the *nirvāṇa*. Neither any secterian rivalry nor any invasion nor works of renovation of age-old shrines with indifference to distinct styles could diminish in the past the essential beauty and inspiration of the *tirtha* rich with its towering or storied temples guarded by massive ramparts with loop-holes and embrasures. The embattled walls along with the severity of round buttreses rising at corners will recall days of trouble in mediaeval times when the treasures of the shrines near Palitana could lure iconoclasts and armies set out for predatory expeditions. Though the parapets could be used as a real defence in accordance with the tradition of fortification established through siege-operations in bygone days, these may also nevertheless represent the *prākāra* as mentioned in the Jaina canonical texts. (U. P. Shah: *Studies In Jaina Art*, Benaras 1955, pp. 90-91) In this connection it may be recalled that the "so-called Ghosundi inscription of the second century B.C. refers to the erection of a *pūjāśila-prākāra* round the shrines of Sankarsana and Vasudeva, which presumably contained the images of these gods. (Dr. J.N. Banerjea : *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, published by the University of Calcutta in 1941 p. 11)

That the temples of Satrunjaya sometimes represent the architectonic tradition of Western India established among other places at Modhera, Sejakpur and Sunak has been illustrated by certain monuments and edifices. On the other hand, the decorative motifs and sculptures displayed through the moon-white Makhrana marble imported from Marwad reminisce the purity of the Jaina sanctuaries of Mount Abu. If the latter, as opined by Benjamin Rowland, "are in a sense the final baroque culmination of the Gujarat style", the temples of Satrunjaya translate into architecture a calm conviction and an escalation of faith through amalgamated forms and styles. Apart from the sculptures of the Jinas which convey in their symbolic austerity and grace the glory of those who have forever put out the flame of attachment from the lamp of existence, the crowds of heavenly musicians, dancers and divinities at Satrunjaya perpetually sparkle from another world being inspiring and remote in a distinct style of craftsmanship. What has been experienced here is often the recognisable trait of mediaeval and later Jaina art in its scope of narration of legends and delineation of events in the ethereal plane. The Jaina marbles of the epochs have repeatedly visualised the delight of beauty both alluring

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and distant. Occasionally, this can be at the border of sensual grace or in the realm beyond.

The sanctuaries at Satrunjaya reveal the architectonic developments of an age mainly ranging from the sixteenth century to much later epochs. This is with regards to the existing temples. There are such vestiges at the place that may be assigned to earlier times. For an instance, it is known that, famous Kumarapala (C. 1144-73 A.D.) of the Calukya dynasty of Anahilawada built a temple at Satrunjaya. Such ancient monuments either suffered under vandalism of iconoclasts or became changed or altered by repairs in the past. Despite all the ravages of time the temples of Satrunjaya have embroidered a sacred mountain with the majesty of its own. The celebrated *Caumukh* temple with its images of Adinatha and the temples of Adisvara, Cakresvari Mata, Vaghesvari Mata, Marudevi Mata, Narsi Kesavji Nayak, Moti Sha, Bhulaoni, Ramji Gandharia and quite a numerous other comparable shrines bear witness to many years of devotion never relinquishing in artistic impulse, a true awareness of pilgrims and devotees with regards to the holy association of Satrunjaya. Whether it be a domical ceiling, plain or fluted, or a storied building with a symmetrical ground plan and projecting balconies or a tiered pyramidal roof or a majestic turret with *aṅga-śikharas* or *uruśṛṅgas* the monuments represent a medley of styles and formalities. Distantly echoing the traditions of the early mediaeval conventions of northern India as also the plans and designs of other temples including those constructed in the Solanki period and the greater temple of Sasvahu dedicated to Visnu in 1093 A.D. at Gwalior the Jaina sanctuaries at Satrunjaya make a grand assemblege of monuments rarely met with in the architectural expressions of mankind. While the domical crests of shrines and *maṇḍapas* have often the smooth grace of *stupikās*, the pyramidal turrets and curvilinear *śikharas* at times stand within clusters of shrines or make their ascent above flat roofs. The domes and parapets often recall a mediaeval norm of architecture of wider acceptance. The ornate motif of multifoiled arch serving as a decorative strut or a tympanum to the entrances belongs to a distinct tradition dating back to early mediaeval times. Among other instances such members may be observed in the sun-temple of Modhera. With their accentuated height, pyramidal profile and an impressive distribution of volume the *śikharas* envisage a changing form stimulated by faith and emotion. Thus, they are removed from the earlier spirit of the classic order which culminated to the state of its

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ultimate glory at Khajuraho in Uttar Pradesh. The elaborate arrangement of the *uruśṛṅgas* at Satrunjaya sometimes distantly recall the convention visualised at the temple of Nilakantha at Sunak.

With her history and tradition containing intimate episodes of the religion of the Nirgrantha it is not surprising that Gujarat has such impressive sites of pilgrimage as Satrunjaya and Girnar. Apart from the sacred memory of Rsabha and his meditations at Satrunjaya, the annals of the council at Valabhi, and the legends of Siddharaja, Hemacandra, great Kumarapala and Vira Dhavala will ever be remembered in posterity. It is gratifying to recall that even the Mughal emperors honoured and appreciated the monuments at Satrunjaya. Col. Tod who has charmed us by his accounts of the Rajput chivalry has also an admiring heart for these temples which will ever symbolise in a blissful solitude the enternal way of the Tirthankaras. By publishing the portfolio on Satrunjaya in the more accessible dimension Sri Ganesh Lalwani, Editor, *Jain Journal*, will receive, no doubt, the grateful thanks from the nation. His profound knowledge and understanding with regards to Jaina art and philosophy appropriately entitle him for such a responsibility. The importance of the monuments will perpetually go beyond the ordinary limits and will deserve admiration and curiosity in the world-level. Satrunjaya will appear enchanting to scholars, tourists and pilgrims who will venture to visit its idyllic crests above a lonely and serene landscape. I offer my heartiest praise to Sri Lalwani for taking up the scholarly and laborious task in revising the original text of James Burgess.

P. C. DASGUPTA
Director of Archaeology,
Govt. of West Bengal

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CONTENTS

1. General View of the Southern Summit from the North-East.
2. General View of the Northern Summit with the Motisah.
3. General View looking West.
4. View from behind the Bhulaoni to the North-East.
5. Temple of Narsi Kesavji Nayak.
6. Caumukh Temple from the West end of the Court.
7. Caumukh Temple from the North-West showing the Older Portion.
8. Caumukh Image of Rsabhanatha.
9. Columns on the South side of the Caumukh.
10. Columns on the West face of the Caumukh, South End.
11. Columns on the West face of the Caumukh, North End.
12. Columns on the North side of the Caumukh.
13. Old Temples behind the Caumukh.
14. Tuk of Kharataravasi from the South.
15. Nandisvara Dvipa.
16. View to the East from Nandisvara Dvipa.
17. The Tuk of Hemabhai Vakhatchand.
18. Temple of Hemabhai Vakhatchand.
19. Temple of Modi Premchand Lalaji.
20. Marble temple of Javheri Ratanchand Javherachand.
21. Rock-cut Image of Adibuddha.
22. View of the Southern Summit and Balabhai Temple.
23. The Balabhai Temple from the South-West.
24. Roadway between the Balabhai and Motisah Tuks.
25. Front of the Motisah Temple.
26. Entrance Gate to the Motisah Tuk.
27. The Motisah Temple from the North-East Terrace.
28. The Motisah Temple from the South-East.
29. Temples outside the Motisah Tuk.
30. General View of the Motisah Tuk from the West.
31. Temple of Hirachand Raykaran.
32. The Bhulaoni—Interior of one of the Rooms.
33. The Bhulaoni—Central Shrine.
34. View to the West from the Bhulaoni.
35. View to the East from near Kumarapala's Temple.
36. Group of Temples to the North-East of Kumarapala's.
37. Entrance of Kumarapala's Temple.
38. Temple opposite Kumarapala's.
39. The Hathipole.
40. Front of the Temple of Adisvara Bhagavan.
41. Temple of Adisvara Bhagavan from the South-West.
42. Temple of Samet Sikhar.
43. Marble Temple of Dalpatbhai Bhagubhai.
44. Caumukh Temple of Ramji Gandharia.
45. Temple in the South-East corner of the Cauk of Adinatha.

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SATRUNJAYA AND ITS TEMPLES

I

KATHIAWAD AND THE JAINAS

The peninsula of Kathiawad, or Saurashtra, in Gujarat, is the holy land of western India. Among its sacred places Mount Girnar, the ancient Ujjayanta, must have been at a very early period a place revered by the Buddhists, who founded their monasteries on its summits, whilst their great patron Asoka—'the beloved of the gods'—engraved his celebrated edict of mercy and toleration on the rock at its foot. Somnath, on the south-west coast, where tradition says Krsna died, was the site of the temple of Somesvara, 'Lord of the Moon', the first of the twelve Siva Lingas in India,[1] and the history of its destruction by Mahmud of Ghazni is familiar to every reader of Indian history. Dvaraka or Dvarika, in the extreme west of the peninsula, is the most celebrated of the shrines of Krsna, and where he is fabled to have slain Taksaka and to have saved the sacred books. And not to mention Tulsi Syam and places of less note, the sacred hill of Satrunjaya, near Palitana, has probably been a sacred place from the earliest times of the Jaina worship, —a great *tīrtha*—'the first of places of pilgrimage'.

The last of these more immediately concerns us for the present, but before referring to its history or buildings, it may be necessary for

[1] The others were Mallikarjuna at Srisailam in Telengana ; Mahakala at Ujjain ; Omkara on the Narmada; Amaresvara near Ujjain; Vaidyanatha at Deoghar in Bihar ; Ramesvara at Setubandha in the island of Ramesvaram in Madura, Bhimasankara, most probably at Dracharam in Rajamuhendry ; Tryambaka near Nasik ; Gautamesa, unknown; Kedaresa on the Himalayas ; and Visvesvara at Benares.

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the sake of some readers to give a short notice of the sect whose members have erected its hundreds of temples. The Jainas or Sravakas are to be found in most of the large towns of the lower Ganges and in Rajputana, but they are most numerous in Gujarat, Dharwad, and Mysore. As their name implies, they are followers of the Jinas or 'vanquishers' of sins—men whom they believe to have obtained *nirvāṇa* or emancipation from the continual changes of transmigration. With them life,—which they do not distinguish from 'soul'—and its vehicle, matter, are both uncreated and imperishable, obeying eternal physical laws, with which asceticism and religious ceremonial alone can interfere. Their ceremonial has therefore no real reference to a Supreme Personal God, and their doctrine excludes His Providence. This at once points to their connection with the Buddhists ; indeed there can be little doubt that they are an early heretical sect of that persuasion, and probably owed part of their popularity, on the decline of the purer Bauddha doctrine, to their readier admission of the worship of some of the favourite Hindu divinities into their system, and their retention of the tyranny of caste customs. But much of their phraseology is of Bauddha origin: thus,—their laity are called Sravakas,—'hearers', the same name as among the most ancient Buddhists is applied to those who 'practise the four realities and suppress the errors of thought and sight, without being able to enamancipate themselves entirely from the influence of passion and prejudice', but 'who, solely occupied with their own salvation, pay no regard to that of other men'. Then the Buddha is constantly spoken of as the Jina or 'vanquisher'; his exit from existence—like that of the Jaina Tirthankaras—is his *nirvāṇa*; both employ the *svastika* or *sāhkiyā* as a sacred symbol; the sacred language of the Buddhists is Magadhi,—of the Jainas Arddha-Magadhi; the temples of both sects are *caityas*; those who have attained perfection are Arhans; and Digambaras or naked ascetics, were of Bauddha, as well as of Jaina sect.[2] Further, the Jainas indicate South Bihar as the scene of the life and labours of nearly all their Tirthankaras, as it was of Sakya Sinha. Buddha is often called Mahavira—the name of the last Tirthankara, whose father the Jainas call Siddhartha the 'establisher of faith'—the proper name of Buddha,—and both are of the race of Iksvaku; and Mahavira's wife was Yasoda, as Buddha's was Yasodhara. Moreover Mahavira is said to have died at Pava, in Bihar, about 527 B.C., and Gautama Buddha between Pava and Kusinara, in 543 B.C.[3] These coincidences, together

[2] Conf. Hodgson's *Illustrations of Buddhism*, pp. 42, 213.

[3] The Singhalese Buddhists specify twenty-four Buddhas, before Gautama, the same number as that of the Tirthankaras or Jinas. Conf. Mahanama in his *Tika*, in Turnour's *Mahavansa*, Introd. [8vo. pp. lxii-lxv] 4 vo. pp. xxxii-xxxiv; Hardy's *Buddhism*, p. 94. Compare also the first six chapters of the *Kalpa Sutra* with Bigandet's *Legend of Gautama*.

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with many analogies of doctrine and practice, seem to indicate that the Jainas are of Bauddha origin.

Of the history of the origin of the Jainas we know nothing. Professor Wilson thinks it "highly probable" that "the Jaina faith was introduced into the peninsula about the seventh century of the Christian era";[4] but it may have originated much earlier, whilst it owed its spread in part to the persecution of Buddhism in the eighth and ninth centuries.

Their leading and distinguishing doctrines are: the denial of the divine origin and authority of the Vedas; reverence for the Jinas, who by their austerities acquired a position superior to that of even those Hindu gods whom they revere ; and the most extreme tenderness for animal life. Life "is defined to be without beginning or end, endowed with attributes of its own, agent and enjoyer, conscious, subtle, proportionate to the body it animates"—diminishing with the gnat, and expanding with the elephant; through sin it passes into animal life or goes to hell; through virtue and vice combined, it passes into human form; and through virtue alone, ascends to heaven; through the annihilation of both vice and virtue, it obtains emancipation.[5] The duties of a Yati or ascetic are ten,—patience, gentleness, integrity, disinterestedness, abstraction, mortification, truth, purity, poverty and continence;[6] and the Sravakas "add to their moral and religious code the practical worship of the Tirthankaras, and profound reverence for their more pious brethren".[7] The moral obligations of the Jainas are summed up in their five *mahā-vratas*, which are almost identical with the *pañca-śīla* of the Bauddhas : care not to injure life, truth, honesty, chastity, and the suppression of worldly desires. They enumerate four merits or *dharmas*—liberality, gentleness, piety and penance; and three forms of restraint—control of the mind, the tongue, and the person. Their minor instructions are in many cases trivial and ludicrous, such as not to deal in soap, natron, indigo, and iron; not to eat in the open air after it begins to rain, nor in the dark, lest a fly should be swallowed; not to leave a liquid uncovered lest an insect should be drowned; water to be thrice strained before it is drunk; and *vāyukarma*—keeping out of the way of the wind, lest it should blow insects into the mouth.[8] The Yatis and priests carry an *oghā* or besom, made of cotton thread, to sweep insects out of the

[4] Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, Introd. p. lxvii.
[5] H. H. Wilson, *Works*, Vol. I. p.307; *Asiat. Resear.*, Vol. XVII. p. 263.
[6] See Rules for Yatis in the *Kalpa Sutra*, Stevenson's transl., pp.103-114, and especially *Nava Tatva*, in *ib.*, p. 124.
[7] H. H. Wilson, *Works*, Vol. I. p. 317; *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. XVII. p.272.
[8] For many similar prohibitions see Delamaine, 'On the Srawaks or Jains', *Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 420-421.

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way of harm as they enter the temples or where they sit down, and a *muhpati* or mouth-cloth to prevent insects entering the mouth when praying or washing the images.

The proper objects of worship are the Jinas or Tirthankaras, but they allow the existence of the Hindu gods, and have admitted to a share in their worship such of them as they have connected with the tales of their saints. As among the Bauddhas, Indra or Sakra is of frequent reference, the Jainas distinguishing two principal Indras—Sakra, regent of the north heaven, and Isana the regent of the south, besides many inferior ones; and images of Sarasvati and of Devi or Bhavani are to be found in many of their temples. Nor are those of Hanumana, Bhairava, or Ganesa, excluded from their sacred places.[9]

[9] Besides they have a pantheon of their own in which they reckon four classes of superhuman beings,—Bhuvanapatis, Vyantaras, Jyotiskas, and Vaimanikas—comprising 1, the brood of the Asuras, Nagas, Garuda, the Dikpalas, etc., supposed to reside in the hells below the earth; 2, the Raksasas, Pisacas, Bhutas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, etc., inhabiting mountains, forests, and lower air; 3, five orders of celestial luminaries; and 4, the gods of present and past *Kalpas*—of the former of which are those born in the heavens, Saudharma, Isana, Sanatkumara, Mahendra, Brahma, Lantaka, Sukra, Sahasrara, Anata, Pranata, Arana and Acyuta, etc. Each Jina, they say, has also a sort of 'familiar' goddess of his own, called a *sasanadevi*, who executes his behests. They are perhaps analogous to the *saktis* or *matrs* of the Brahmins; indeed among them we find Ambika a name of Kaumari, the *sakti* of Kartikeya, and Canda and Mahakali, names of Bhavani.—*Amarakosa*, I. i. 1, 1.33. Conf. Hodgson, *Illustrations*, p. 218.

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II

THE TIRTHANKARAS OR JINAS

Their Tirthankaras or Arhantas,—images of one or more of whom figure in every temple—are twenty-four in number, each having his separate *ciṇha* or cognizance, usually placed under the image, and many of them are distinguished by the colour of their complexion,—sixteen being yellow, two red, two white, two blue, and two black. The following is a list of them, with the principal particulars related of each: [10]

1. RSABHANATHA or ADINATHA, called also Nabheya, Yugadisa, Yugadijina, Rsabha Deva, Kausalika, Adisvara, and Vrsabha Sena of the race of Iksvaku, was the son of Nabhi by Marudevi. He is represented as of yellow or golden complexion; has the bull (*vṛṣa*) as his *ciṇha* or cognizance ; Cakresvari for his *śāsanadevī*. According to the commentator of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, he was born at Kosala or Ayodhya, towards the end of the third age. He was the first king (*prathama rājā*), first anchorite (*prathama bhikṣākara*) and first saint (*prathama jina* and *prathama tīrthankara*). His stature, it is said, was 500 poles (*dhanuṣ*), and when he was crowned as king his age was 2,000,000 great years (*pūrva varṣa*). He reigned 6,300,000 years, and then resigned in favour of his sons, and having spent 100,000 years more in passing through the various stages of austerity and purity, he attained *nirvāṇa* on a mountain named Astapada, according to Hemacandra the same as Kailasa, others say it is in Gujarat, 3 years 8½ months before the end of the third age. Besides his children by other wives, Rsabha had twins by each of his wives Sumangala and Sunanda,—by the former a son Bharata, the first Cakravarti[11] and a daughter Brahmi; by the latter a second son

[10] This account of the Tirthankaras is derived principally from Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 208-213; *Asiat. Researches*, Vol. IX. pp. 304-311.

[11] *Satrunjaya Mahatmya*, I. 60. The twelve Cakravartis are: Bharata, son of Rasabha; Maghavan, son of Vijaya; Sanatkumara, son of Asvasena; Santi, Kunthu and Ara,—the 16th, 17th and 18th Jinas; Sagara, son of Sumitra; Subhuma called Kartavirya; Padma, son of Padmottara; Harisena of Hari; Jaya of Vijaya; and Brahmadatta or Brahma;—all of the race of Iksvaku.—Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II. 217; *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. IX. p. 315. It may be noticed that Rsabha and his father and son occur in the Puranic lists (Princep, *Useful Tables*, ed. 1858, p. 232) where Nabhi is the son of Agnidra, king of Jambudvipa and son of Priyavrata, king of Antarveda. The kings of various other nations also derived their descent from him.—Princep, *Usef. Tab.*, p. 232 n. ; also Wilson, *Visnu Purana*, pp. 162, 163

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Bahubali, and Sundari, a daughter. It is Rsabha's image erected by Bahubali that imparts its peculiar sanctity to Satrunjaya.[12]

2. AJITANATHA was son of Jitasatru by Vijaya; of the same race and complexion as the first; he was also a native of Ayodhya, and has an elephant (*gaja*) for his cognizance, and Ajitabala as his *śāsana-devī*. His stature was 450 poles, and he lived 7,200.000 great years. His *nirvāṇa* took place on Samet Sikhar or Mount Parsvanatha in the fourth age, when fifty lakhs of crores of oceans of years[13] had elapsed out of the tenth crore of crores.

3. SAMBHAVA was son of Jitari by Sena; of the same race and complexion as Rsabha; his cognizance—a horse (*aśva*); his *śāsanadevī* —Duritari; his height 400 poles; he lived 6,000,000 years; he was born at Sravasti, and attained *mokṣa* on Parsvanatha hill, thirty lakhs of crores of *sāgaras* after Ajita.

4. ABHINANDANA, the son of Sambara by Siddhartha; is also of yellow complexion ; he has an ape (*plavaga*) for his characteristic symbol; and Kalika is the goddess who serves him. His stature was 300 poles, and his age 5,000,000 years; he was born at Ayodhya, and his *nirvāṇa* took place on Samet Sikhar, ten lakhs of crores of *sāgaras* of years after the preceding.

5. SUMATI[14] was son of Megha and Mangala; also of yellow complexion, and a curlew (*krauñca*) for his cognizance and Mahakali

and note on p. 164. The *Mahatmya* (iii. 4-8) says Vimalavahana was the first of the ancestral fathers. His son was Caksusman, father of Abhicandra, whose son Prasenajit (comp. Princep, *ut. sup.*, p. 233, 1.19) was the father of Marudeva, also called Nabhi; and at the end of the third spoke of the *Avasarpini* age, the Lord of the World, through his omnipotence, took birth in the womb of Nabhi's wife Marudevi, under the name of Rsabha, or Vrsabhasena.—Weber, *uber das Satrunjaya Mahatmyam*, p. 26.

[12] Weber, *ut. sup.*, p. 27.

[13] "In the second chapter, (of Hemacandra's Vocabulary,) which relates to the heavens and the gods, etc., the author, speaking of time, observes, that it is distinguished into *Avasarpini* and *Utsarpini*, adding that the whole period is completed by twenty *kotis* of *kotis* of *sagaras*, or 2,000,000,000,000,000 oceans of years. I do not find that he anywhere explains the space of time denominated by *sagara* or ocean. But I understand it to be an extravagant estimate of time, which would elapse before a vast cavity filled with chopped hairs could be emptied, at the rate of one piece of hair in a century; the time requisite to empty such a cavity, measured by a *yojana* every way, is a *palya*: and that repeated ten *kotis* of *kotis* (or 1,000,000,000,000,000) of times, is a *sagara*."—Colebrooke, *Essays* (1837), Vol. II. p. 216; *Asiat. Researches*, Vol. IX. pp. 313, 314.

[14] Stevenson makes this Tirthankara a female; *Kalpa Sutra*, p. i; Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 337, 338. Conf. Hodgson's *Illustrations*, p. 48, No. 82.

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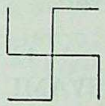
for his *devī*. He was born at Ayodhya, lived 4,000,000 years, and entered *mokṣa* on Samet Sikhar, nine lakhs of crores of *sāgaras* after the fourth Jina.

6. PADMAPRABHA was son of Sridhara by Susima; born at Kausambi; of the same race as the preceding, but of red complexion. His mark is the lotus (*abja*), and his *devī* is Syama. His height was 200 poles, and his age 3,000,000 years. His death took place also on Samet Sikhar 90,000 crores of *sāgaras* after the fifth Jina.

7. SUPARSVA was the son of Pratistha by Prithvi; born at Benares; of the same line as the preceding and of golden colour; his cognizance is the figure called *svastika*[15] in Sanskrit, and *sākhiyā* in Gujarati. His *devi* was Santa, and he lived 2,000,000 years, his *nirvāṇa* on Samet Sikhar being dated 9,000 crores of *sāgaras* after the preceding.



8. CANDRAPRABHA was son of Mahasena by Laksmana, and was born at Candrapuri; of the race of Iksvaku, but of fair or white complexion; his sign is the moon (*śaśī*), and his *devī*, Bhrkuti; his height was 150 poles, and he lived 1,000,000 years, and his entrance into *mokṣa* or beatitude, took place 900 crores of *sāgaras* later than the seventh Tirthankara.

9. PUSPADANTA, also named Suvidhi, was the son of Supriya[16] by Rama; he was born at Kakendrapura; of the same race and complexion with the last; his mark is a *makara* or crocodile, and his *devi* is Sutaraka. His stature was 100 poles, and his life lasted 200,000 years. He was deified on Samet Sikhar ninety crores of *sāgaras* after Candraprabha.

[15] The Sectaries of the mystic cross or *svastika*, or 'doctors of reason', were the followers of the Pon religion, which prevailed in Tibet till the general introduction of Buddhism in the ninth century. Their doctrine, named Bonghutsios, has still professors in Kham-yul or Lower Tibet. Their founder was Chen-roebs. They are called Tao-sse in Chinese, and in the time of Fa-Hien appear to have existed also in India. The Tao-szu named Ai, is in Sanskrit Tapasvi and is stated to have visited the infant Buddha and drawn his horoscope. Conf. Remusat, *Foe Koue Ki*, pp. 208, 230, 231; Laidlay, *Pilgrimage of Fa-Hien*, pp. 200, 218; *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. ii. p. 383; Csoma de Koros, *Dictionary of the Tibetan Language*, pp. 36, 94; Sykes, *Jour. Roy Asiat. Soc.*, pp. 310, 334; or 'Notes on the state of Ancient India', pp. 64 and 88.

[16] See Colebrooke. Hemacandra has Sugriva.—*Abhidhana Cintamani*, 37 (ed. Boehtlingk and Rieu), p. 7.

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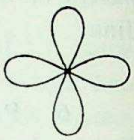
10. SITALA, the son of Drdharatha by Nanda, was born at Bhadalpur; of the same race, and with a golden complexion; his sign is the mark called *śrīvatsa*, and his *śāsanadevī*—Asoka. His stature was ninety poles, and his life 100,000 great years; his deification on Samet Sikhar dates nine crores of *sāgaras* later than the preceding.



11. SREYANSA or SRIANSANATHA was the son of Visnu by Visna; of the same race and complexion; born in Sindh with a rhinoceros (*khaḍgī*) for his cognizance. His *devī* was Manavi. He was eighty poles in stature, and lived 8,400,000 common years; dying at Samet Sikhar more than a hundred *sāgaras* of years before the end of the fourth age.

12. VASUPUJYA or VASUPADYA or VASUPUJYA SVAMI was son of Vasupujya by Jaya; born at Campapuri; of the same race, with a red complexion having a buffalo (*mahiṣa*) for his mark, and Canda for his *devī*. He was seventy poles high; lived 7,200,000 years, and attained *nirvāṇa* at Campapuri fifty-four *sāgaras* after the eleventh Jina.

13. VIMALA was son of Krtavarman by Syama, was born at Kampilyapuri; of the same race and of yellow complexion. He has a boar (*śūkara*) for his characteristic, and Vidita was his *devī*; he was sixty poles high, lived 6,000,000 years, and was deified on Samet Sikhar thirty *sāgaras* later than the twelfth Jina.

14. ANANTA or ANANTAJITA was son of Sinhasena by Suyasa, and was born at Ayodhya. His sign is a falcon (*śyena*); his *śāsanadevī* was Ankusa; his height was fifty poles, the length of his life 3,000,000 years, and his death nine *sāgaras* after the preceding.

15. DHARMA was son of Bhanu by Suvrata, and was born at Ratnapuri; characterised by the *vajra* or thunderbolt; his *devī* was Kandarpa; he was forty-five poles in stature, and lived 1,000,000 years; he was deified four *sāgaras* after the fourteenth Jina.

16. SANTI was the son of Visvasena by Acira; born at Hastinapura; he has the antelope (*mṛga*) for his cognizance. His *śāsanadevī* was Nirvani; he was forty poles in stature; lived 100,000 years, and died two *sāgaras* later than the preceding.[17]

[17] The life of this Jina is the object of a separate work entitled *Santi Purana*.—Colebrooke, *Essays*, ut. sup. p. 211 n.; *Asiat. Res.*, IX. p. 308.

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17. KUNTHU was the son of Sura by Sri; of the same race and complexion as the last; was also born at Hastinapur. His *śāsanadevī* was Bala; his cognizance is a goat (*chāga*); his height was thirty five poles, and his life 95,000 years. His *nirvāṇa* is dated in the last *palya* of the fourth age.

18. ARA was son of Sudarsana by Devi; his mark is the figure called *nandyāvarta*; he was of the same race and complexion and born at the same place as the preceding; his *śāsanadevī* was Dharini; his stature was thirty poles; his life lasted 84,000 years, and his *nirvāṇa* was 1,000 crores of years before the next Jina.

19. MALLI was son of Kumbha by Prabhavati; of the same race with the preceding; but of blue complexion; his mark being a water-jar (*ghaṭa*); he was born at Mithila, and his *śāsanadevī* was Dharanapriya; he was twenty-five pols high; lived 55,000 years, and was deified 6,584,000 years before the close of the fourth age.

20. MUNISUVRATA, SUVRATA or MUNI was son of Sumitra by Padma, of the Harivamsa race, and of black complexion; he was born at Rajagrha; has a tortoise (*kūrma*) for his cognizance, and Naradatta for his *devī*; his height was twenty poles, and his age 30,000 years. He died 1,184,000 years before the end of the fourth age.

21. NAMI was son of Vijaya by Vipra; born at Mithila; of the race of Iksvaku; with a golden complexion; having for his mark a blue water-lily (*nīlotpala*), and his *śāsanadevī*, Gandhari. His stature was fifteen poles; his life 10,000 years, and his apotheosis took place, like the preceding eight Jinas, on Samet Sikhar or Mount Parsvanatha, 584,000 years before the expiration of the fourth age.

22. NEMI or ARISTANEMI was the son of king Samudravijaya by his queen Siva; of the Harivamsa race; of black complexion, with the conch (*śankha*) for his symbol, and Ambika for his *śāsanadevī*. The *Kalpa Sūtra* says,—"he was born at Soriyapuri (Agra) in Sravana, the first month of the rainy season, under the constellation Citra. He became an ascetic at the age of three hundred, at Dvaraka (Magadhi Baravave). He died on Mount Girnar, after living seven hundred years as an ascetic,—in all a thousand years. He remained for fifty-five days only as an imperfect ascetic."[18] The date of his death was 84,000 years before the close of the fourth age.

[18] Stevenson, *Kalpa Sutra*, p. 98. At Ujjayanta, one of the peaks of Girnar is still sacred to Neminatha. In some lists this Jina is confounded with the preceding Naminatha,—in Stevenson's list the 21st is called *Nami*, and in Princep's Naminath is the 22nd Jina.

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23. PARSVA or PARSVANATHA[19] was the son of king Asvasena by Vama or Vama Devi; of the race of Iksvaku, with a blue complexion, having a hooded snake (*śeṣaphaṇi*) for his cognizance, and is often represented as sitting under the expanded hoods of a snake with many heads, much like the so-called Naga figures at Ajanta and elsewhere[20]. His *śāsanadevī* was Padmavati. He was born at Bhelupura in the suburbs of Varanasi (Benares); married Prabhavati the daughter of king Prasenajit; and according to the *Kalpa Sūtra*, "adopted an ascetic life, with three hundred others, when he was thirty years of age, and for eighty days he practised austerities before arriving at perfect wisdom. He lived after this seventy years, less eighty days, his whole term of life being one hundred years, after which he obtained liberation from passion and freedom from pain. He owns one garment, and had under his direction a large number of male and female ascetics." His death took place two hundred and fifty years before that of the last Tirthankara (i.e., B.C. 777). He died while, with thirty others, performing a fast on the top of Mount Sammeya or Samet Sikhar.[21]

24. VARDHAMANA, VIRA, MAHAVIRA, VARDHAMANA PRABHU, etc, and surnamed Carama Tirthakrt, or last of the Jinas, and emphatically Sramana or the saint. He was the son of Siddhartha by Trisala;[22] of the race of Iksvaku and family of Kasyapa; born at Citrakot or Kundagrama, and described as of a golden complexion, having the lion (*sinha*) as his cognizance. His *śāsana devī* was Siddhayika. His life is the subject of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, which professes to have been composed by Bhadrabahu Svami of Anandapura, now Badnagar, in the reign of Dhruvasena, 980 years after the death of Mahavira, i.e., A.D. 454.[23]

[19] "The life of this celebrated Jina, who was perhaps the real founder of the Sect, is the subject of a poem entitled *Parsvanatha Caritra*."—Colebrooke, *Essays*, ut. sup. II. 212; *Asiat Res.*, Vol. IX. p. 309. It was written by Briddha Tapa Gaccha in Samvat 1654 and occasionally calls this Jina by the name of Jagannatha.—Delamaine, *Asiat. Trans.*, Vol. I. pp. 428, 432.

[20] The *Caritra* states that whilst Parsvanatha was engaged in his devotions his enemy Kamatha caused a great rain to fall upon him; but the serpent Dharanidhara came and, at Seva nagari, overshadowed his head as with a *chatra*. In the *Satrunjaya Mahatmya*, Dharana the Naga king is represented as approaching to worship. Parsva while engaged in his second *kayotsarga* or profound meditation, at Sivapuri in the Kausambaka forest, and holding his outspread hood (*phana*) over him as an umbrella. From this the town obtained the name of Ahichatra. *Mah.*, XIV. 31-35. Compare Bigandet, *Legend of Gautama*, 2nd ed. p. 99 (1st ed. p. 69); Hardy's *Buddhism*, p. 182.

[21] Stevenson's *Kalpa Sutra*, Chap. VII. pp. 97, 98.

[22] See the story of his birth in Max Muller's *Hist. Sansk. Liter.*, p. 261, quoted from the *Kalpa Sutra*, pp. 35, 36.

[23] Weber makes it A.D. 632.—*Uber das Satr. Mahat.*, p. 12. It refers to Satrunjaya in the following laudation of his book by the author:

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Mahavira's paternal uncle was Suparsva, his elder brother Nàndivardhana, his sister (mother of Jamali) Sudarsana. His wife was Yasoda, by whom he had a daughter named Anojja or Priyadarsana who became the wife of Jamali. His father and mother died when he was 28 years of age; and he continued for two years afterwards with Nandivardhana; he then departed to practise austerities, which he continued twelve and a-half years as a sage only in outward disguise; as a Digambara "he went robeless, and had no vessel but his hand". Finally he became an Arhat, or Jina, being worthy of universal adoration, omniscient, and all-seeing, and at the age of seventy-two years he became exempt from all pain for ever. This is said to have occurred at Pavapuri or Papapuri near Rajagrha at the court of Hastipala, three and a-half months before the close of the fourth age or Dukhama Sukhama in the great period named *Avasarpini*. "On the night on which the adorable ascetic hero was delivered from pain, Gautama Indrabhuti, the chief of his perfectly initiated disciples, had the bonds of affection by which he was tied to his preceptor cut asunder, and attained infinite, certain, and supreme intelligence, and perception." This event the Gujarat Jainas date 470 before the Samvat of Vikrama, i.e., B.C. 526[24] others apparently 512 years before Vikrama, or B.C. 569,[25] the Jainas of Bengal 580, and those of Mysore 607 before Vikrama,[26] but probably by mistake for the Saka era, which would bring these latter dates to B.C. 502 and 539 respectively.[27]

"When the sages meet to keep the *paryusana*, this *Kalpa Sutra* is to be read for the attainment of merit during five days. This Institute is like Indra among the gods, the Moon among the heavenly bodies, Rama among the just rulers, Kamadeva among well-proportioned men, Rambha among beautiful women, Bhambha among musicians, Airavata among elephants, Ravana among daring adventurers, Abhaya among wise men, Satrunjaya among holy places, humility among virtuous qualities, gold among metals, the nine-lettered among charms, the strawberry-mango tree among trees, Sita among faithful wives, Gita among inspired writings, musk among perfumes, gold-sand among articles of commerce, the peacock among dancers, the five marked colt among horses, the water of immortality among liquids, melted butter among gravies, the dutiful son Salabhadra among enjoyments, Santinatha among the givers of gifts, Neminatha among chaste religious students, Nandana among forests, the Candana among woods, friendship among virtues, and the Jain religion among religions. In fine the *Kalpa Sutra* is the gem in the crown of all religious institutes. There is no god superior to the Arhat, no future bliss superior to *mukti* (*moksa*,) no holy place superior to Sri Satrunjaya, and no inspired book superior to the *Sri Kalpa Sutra*.—Stevenson's *Kalpa Sutra*, pp. 9, 10.

[24] Conf. Stevenson, *Kalpa Sutra*, pp. 86, 90, 91, 92, 96.

[25] Princeps' *Useful Tables* (1858), p. 166.

[26] *Kalpa Sutra*, pref. p . iii.

[27] Weber would bring down this date to 348 or 349 B.C. *Uber Satr. Mahat.* p. 12.

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Adisvara, Santi, Nemi, Parsva, and Vira, the first, sixteenth, and last three Tirthankaras are regarded as the principal Jinas: they are more frequently mentioned than the others, and their statues are more numerous.[28]

[28] Besides the Tirthankaras of the present *Avasarpini* cycle of the world's duration, they reckon also twenty-four each of the past and future *Utsarpini* renovations or cycles. Hemacandra gives the names of the whole forty-eight in the following lines:

Utsarpinyamatitayam Caturvinsatirarhatam I
[1]Kevaladnyani [2]Nirvani [3]Sagarotha [4]Mahayasah II
[5]Vimalah [6]Sarvanubhutih [7]Sridharo [8]Datta Tirthakrt I
[9]Damodarah [10]Sutejasca [11]Svamyatho [12]Munisuvratah II
[13]Sumatih [14]Sivagatiscaiva [15]Astagotha [16]Nimisvarah I
[17]Anilo [18]Yasodharakhyah [19]Krtarghotha [20]Jinesvarah II
[21]Suddhamatih [22]Sivakarah [23]Syandanascatha [24]Sampratih I
Bhavinyan tu [1]Padmanabhah [2]Suradevah [3]Suparsvakah II
[4]Svayamprabhasca [5]Sarvanubhutir [6]Deva [7]Srutodayau I
[8]Pedhalah [9]Pottilascapi [10]Satakirtisca [11]Suvratah II
[12]Amamonish [13]Kasayascaish [14]Pulakotha [15]Nirmamah I
[16]Citraguptah [17]Samadhisca [18]Sanvarasca [19]Yasodharah II
[20]Vijayo [21]Majla [22]Devau ca [23]Anantaviryasca [24]Bhadrakrt I
Evam Sarvavasarpinyutsarpinisu Jinottamah II

—*Abhidhana Cintamani*, 58-70

In other lists, the 8th, 11th and 15th of the Past Age are styled Sridatta, Srisvami and Sriastaga, and the affix *ji* is usually added to each. To most of the names of the future Jinas the affix is *nathaya namah*, and the 6th, 7th, 15th, 21st and 22nd are respectively called Jivadeva, Srutodanatha, Mamanmunatha, Mallinatha and Jinadeva. See Briggs' *Cities of Gujarat*, *p.* 349.

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III

YATIS, PRIESTS, PRAYERS, CEREMONIES, SECTS, ETC.

The Yati or Jati is an ascetic or devotee, analogous to the Brahmana Sannyasi, but not properly a priest,—for though it is his duty to read and expound the Jaina *śāstras* to the Sravakas at the temple,[29] he performs none of the religious ceremonies. The Yatis are someitmes the children of Vanias or Kunbis,[30] who often devote them from their infancy ; sometimes they are the children of Brahmanas, Vanias, or Kunbis, purchased while young by the Yatis and trained by them; and occasionally they are dedicated in consequence of vows made by Vanias without children, who promise their first-born to their Sri Puj or High Priest, in hopes of obtaining further posterity. Whilst young the Yati is placed under a Guru, for whom he performs many domestic services. At a proper age he is initiated thus: He is conducted out of the town by crowds of Sravakas, with music and joy; he is placed beneath a tree with milky juice—generally the Banian or *Ficus Indica*, and there surrounded by a circle composed exclusively of Yatis, who pull out the hair of his lock in five pulls[31] applying camphor, musk, sandal, saffron and sugar to the place. He is next stripped naked and placed before his Guru, with his hands joined. The Guru pronounces a *mantra* in his ear, and he then receives the clothes of a Yati,—a cloth (Guj. *calotā*, Sans *cīvara*) of a yard and a-half for his loins, one of two and a half yards for his head, a *kamblī* or country blanket for his body, the *tripuṇi* or water-pot, a plate for his victuals, a cloth to tie them up in, a black rod (*daṅḍa*) to guard himself from hurt but not to injure others and a *rajoharaṇa* or besom (*oghā*) to sweep the ground with. He does not return to his Guru till the next day. The Yati lives on charity and procures his food ready dressed from the houses of Sravakas—Brahmanas or Kunbis. He may purchase dressed food, but must not dress it for himself; he must not

[29] It is the Yati's duty to perform *sandhya* at morning and evening twilight with his face to the east, and during the ceremony no light must be admitted.

[30] *Kulambi* or *Kunbi*—the chief agricultural caste in central, western, and southern India.

[31] In the *Parsvanatha Caritra*, Parsvanatha is described as tearing five handfuls of hair from his head on becoming a recluse. Conf. Delamaine, *Trans. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol I. p. 433.

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eat or drink while the sun is below the horizon; he must abstain from all roots as yams, onions, etc. and from butter and honey.[32] The Yatis wear loose clothing, with their heads bare, and their hair and beards clipped; and they never bathe. Sometimes they live together in *gaddis* or monasteries; and even after a Yati has left one of these, he yields a sort of allegiance to the Guruji or head of his former monastery.

The Sravakas in Gujarat engage Brahmanas of the Srimali tribe to perform the marriage and *srāddh* or obsequial ceremonies for them. Marriage is not regarded by them as a religious rite but as a mere civil obligation—a man and woman engaging to assist each other through life; and on the death of a wife, fresh matrimonial proposals are sometimes made at the very funeral pile.

The ministrant priest, who attends on the images, receives the offerings, and conducts the usual ceremonies, is also a Srimali Brahmin though scarcely recongized as such by those of his own race, and goes by the name of Bhojaka or "eater". The ritual is neither strictly enforced nor of a complicated character. The Yati dispenses with acts of worship at his pleasure, and the Sravaka is only required daily to visit a temple where there are images of some of the Tirthankaras, "walk round it three times, make an obeisance to the images, with an offering of some trifle, usually fruit or flowers, and pronounce some such *mantra* or prayer as the following: '*Salutation to the Arthats, to the pure Existences, to the Sages, to the Teachers, to all the Devout in the world.*' A morning prayer is also repeated: '*I beg forgiveness, O Lord, for your slave, whatever evil thoughts the night may have produced—I bow with my head.*'[33] The domestic worship is performed at home either personally by the Sravaka or by Kunbis enagaged for the purpose or else the Sravaka, after having bathed, goes in person to the temple and bathes the image of the Tirthankara he intends to worship. He then marks the idol in nine places with a mixture of camphor, sandal, and saffron,—leaving what is left of the mixture for subsequent votaries; but the Yatis never perform this ceremoney.[34] Curiously enough, the confessional—*paḍikkamaṇa* (Sans. *pratikramaṇa*)—exists among the Jainas. Those who so desire, may confess at any time, and have various sorts of fasts imposed on them by way of penance; but at the commencement of the *paryuṣaṇa* or holy

[32] See Stevenson's *Kalpa Sutra*, pp. 103-114 for further details.
[33] H. H. Wilson, *Works*, Vol. I. pp. 318, 319; *Asiat. Resear.*, Vol. XVII. p. 273.
[34] Conf. Col. Walkers, *Report on the Suppression of Female Infanticide in Kathiawad, Bombay Selections*, No. XXXIX. Part ii. pp. 341-344 or Moor, *Hindu Infanticide*, pp. 174-177.

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season,[35] which lasts fifty days, ending the 5th of Bhadra *śukla pakṣa* it is considered imperative on every strict Jaina to confess to a priest and receive his *āvalan* or absolution.

Dr. Wilson thus describes the worship at a temple in the town of Palitana: "After the *caitya* was cleansed by a Brahmin, a number of the Vanias and their wives made their appearance. The men carried a wooden case containing the *muhapatī*, *pelā*, etc. and a quantity of rice. After the name of Adisvara or Rsabha, whose image is adored, was taken, the ground plan of the *caitya*, or a symbol called *sākhiyā*, exactly the same as that depicted on the caves at Karla, was drawn by the men with the grains of rice upon a part of the floor which they had swept. They then commenced a song in praise of the *nāthas*, which they continued for five or six minutes, each person worshipping by himself."[36]

The Jaina festivals are especially connected with the anniversaries of the births and deaths of some of the favourite Tirthankaras, particularly the last two.

From the 15th *śukla pakṣa* or full moon of Asadha the *paryuṣana* or period of fasting commences among the Svetambaras, and lasts fifty days—to the 5th Bhadra *śukla pakṣa*. Among the Digambaras it is called *daśalakṣaṇī* and being on the latter date, lasting seventy days—till the 14th Kartika. On the 5th of Bhadra *śukla pakṣa* or *ṛṣi pañcamī*, called by the Svetambaras *samvatsarī*, all the Jainas of one town assemble to listen to the reading of the *Kalpa Sūtra* by one of their principal Yatis or Gurus (vulgo *Guronji*). On the preceding day the book is richly adorned and carried in the hands of a youth mounted on an elephant, or horse-back, or seated in a palanquin; the Jainas following to the *Guronji* on horse-back, in palanquins, and on foot, with music, singing, and dancing. When brought into the house, the book is placed on a kind of throne (*sinhāsana*) while the company stand before it with joined hands. Offerings are made to the book and a suitable present to the reader, and during the reading the audience occasionally show their attention by repeating "*ji ! ji !*". After this they sit and listen to songs in praise of their saints and religion.[37]

The *siddha-cakra pūjā* is celebrated twice a year in the months of Asvina and Caitra lasting for nine days, called *oli* days, from the 7th

[35] Popularly called *pajjusan*, a period of fasting among the Jainas. With the Digambaras it begins on the 5th Bhadra (Sept-Oct) *sukla paksa*, and lasts seventy days.—Stevenson, *Kalpa Sutra*, pref. pp. xxiii-xxiv. They also use the rosary in their prayers.

[36] *Oriental Christian Spectator*, 1835, p. 294.

[37] Conf. *Kalpa Sutra*, pp. 14-19.

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to the 15th or full moon. On a plate of silver or other material circle is described and divided into the nine compartments, in which are placed the images or names of Arhanta, Siddha, Acarya, Upadhyaya, and Sadhu,[38] the first being placed in the centre, and the words *jñana*—knowledge, *darśana*—religious discipline, *cāritra*—good conduct, and *tapa*—austerity. On the outside of the circle are sometimes written the names of the ten *urdhalokanivasins*[39] or regents of the earth, of the sixty-four ruling deities, of two Bhairavas, of two Daksas, and of Cakresvari the guardian *devī* of the *siddha-cakra*. During the celebration, *pūjā* is daily performed to all these names collectively, and each name is also worshipped in turn with special ceremonies and offerings of flowers and cloths. To this is added recitations in praise of Jaina saints.

Kartika *śukla* 4th and 15th and Margasirsa *śukla* 11th are ordinary days of rejoicing, when they perform *poṣā* or *pauṣadha*,—that is, fasting, sitting in one place, etc. and the worship of the Jinas.[40]

On Kartika *śukla* 4th, *jñāna pañcamī*, also known as *śruta pañcami* is celebrated with the offerings consisting of five books, five red pens, five ink-holders, five leaves for writing upon and five of every other offerings.

Their *tīrthas* are visited throughout the dry season by pilgrims from all parts of India; but one of the chief *melās* is held on the Kartika *śukla* 15th called *Rathayātra*. On that date immense bands of pilgrims called Sanghas visit Satrunjaya or Girnar from every part of the peninsula. Occasionally some wealthy merchant puts himself at the head of the body of pilgrims from his own province and provides subsistence to his poorer co-religionists in their pilgrimage to and from the *tirtha*, a peice of charity which "has its reward", and he is ever after styled Sanghi or Chief of the Pilgrimage. They then celebrate the *jala* and *dhvaja yātrās*, when a splendid car is driven round the temple of Adisvara Bhagavan, the temples are ornamented with new flags, etc. During the *caumāsā* or seventy days from 5th

[38] For a full account of the qualities attributed to each of these, see Ward, *View of the Hindus*, Vol, II. pp. 252-254.

[39] These are: Indra regent of the E., Agni of the S.E., Yama of the S.W., Varuna of the W., Pavana or Vayu of the N.W., Kuvera of the N., Isana of the N. E., of hell or the Nadir, Dharanidhara and of heaven, Soma or the moon. Conf. Hemacandra, *Abhi. Cint.*, 168, 169.

[40] It has been found exceedingly difficult to obtain satisfactory information respecting the festivals. For the observances on 4th Kartika and 11th Margasirsa and for other items, I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Bhau Daji.

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Bhadra to 14th Kartika, the Yatis are not allowed to move about the country, but on this 15th they commence their annual tours.[41]

On the 11th Margasirsa *śukla pakṣa* the *mauna ekādaśī* is celebrated, when the person who defrays the expenses observes *pauṣadha* with a vow of silence for a day and a night, fasting, and sitting in one place.

They also observe several festivals in common with other Hindus especially the *vasantayātrā* or spring festival, the *śrīpañcamī*, the *daśarahā*, *divālī*, etc., and on the 2nd, 5th, 8th, 11th and 12th lunar days of the month they consider it unlucky to commence any new work, or to start on a journey, and on those dates fasting, or at least abstinence and continence should be observed.[42]

The Jainas deny the inspiration of the Hindu Vedas and the extravagant claims to special sancitity put forth by the Brahmins; hence they are stigmatized by other Hindus as infidels and atheists. They have invented a separate set of deities whom they place above those of the *Purāṇas*, and they yield spiritual submission only to a hierarchy of their own,—Yatis, Gurujis or teaching priests, and pontiff or Sri Puj. Shutting out the necessity of the existence of God, by accounting for all things without the intervention of any power beyond what they regard as inherent in matter, and with no prospect beyond the present except one of countless transmigrations to end at last only in entire quiescence or annihilation,—the Jaina theology must cast a withering blight on human affections and aspirations. Still it bears the impress of human wilfulness in ignoring the final judgement and claiming for man, through the exercise of asceticism, a power over his destiny that is essentially omnipotent. This gives the ascetic devotee a claim to divine honours. The worship of the Tirthankaras also, who, according to their ideas, have ceased to exist, is in keeping with their system, for it derives its merit not from the object worshipped, but as an *opus operatum*, from its performance by the agent; and this merit is productive of prosperity rather than of any moral effect that the erring soul feels the want of ; but the feeling of such wants is the tendency, if not the aim, of every form of idolatry to blunt and stifle.

The Vanias or Banias of Gujarat are almost all Jainas, though a few are Vaisnavas and Saivas. They are the bankers and principal merchants of the province, and possess great influence. Formerly at least,

[41] On the night of this day, the Tapa Sravakas, men and women, assemble in the *upasara* or convent of the priests, and remain employed in religious austerities the whole night.—Miles, *Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. III. p. 361.

[42] Wilson, *Works*, Vol. I. pp. 323; *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. XVII. p. 277.

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they openly assisted the Rajputs and even Musalmans in the plunder, or—as they were pleased to phrase it,—'the rescue' of cattle poultry, etc., from such as they chose to suspect might slaughter them.[43] At Surat, Bharoch, Bombay, and elsewhere, they support *pinjrāpoles* or hospitals for animals.[44] "Not only", says Briggs, "are eligible roofs and extensive grounds set apart for this purpose, and quantities of the best of food bestowed, men employed to protect the property, and brutes impaled,—but even lads are engaged to scare crows and other birds from disturbing the dumb inmates of these hospitals. Nay, more than this; a wealthy Sravaka at Ahmedabad has paid so much as forty rupees for a vile bed-curtain, not worth so many farthings, merely to prevent the destruction of the myriads of vermin it contained. This very identical native gentleman afterwards shrunk from contributing a mite to a proposed Lunatic Asylum, while thousands of rupees were lavishly bestowed upon his animal-ward."[45]

"They have", says Captain (now General) G. Le Grand Jacob, "in several places forced the Rajput and other Chiefs to enter into engagements not to permit the slaughter of sheep, etc., but, though child-murder within the same district was notorious, as far as my knowledge extends, they have not so much as attempted to stipulate for the preservation of human beings."[46]

The Jainas are divided into two principal sects, Digambaras, the 'sky-clad', or Nagnas, 'naked', and Svetambaras or 'white-robed'. Of these the former sect is said to have been founded by Siddha Sena Divakara

[43] Col. G. Le Grand Jacob's *Memoirs on the Province of Kattyawar, Bombay Selections*, No. XXXVII. p. 29; *Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 29.

[44] Conf. Ovington, *Voyage to Surat in the Year .689*, p. 301.

[45] Briggs, *Cities of Gujarat*, pp. 354, 355. Conf. pp. 111-113.

[46] *Bombay Selections*, No. XXXIX,—'Suppression of Infanticide in Kattyawar', Part ii. Letter dated 23rd October 1841, pp. 599, 600. On this Dr. Wilson remarks: "It is a fact that the Jainas in the peninsula of Gujarat are the most ostentatious in their professed regard for the preservation of life, especially that of the brutes, which they say, are incapable of asking the aid of man whose fellows they may have been in former births. To the preservation of life, however, the doctrine of the metempsychosis is *not*, logically speaking, favourable. As every creature has a certain number of births (according to the *sastra* 8,400,000) to go through before absorption in the case of the Brahminists, and before liberation or extinction in the case of the Jainas, death would appear rather to hasten than delay these grand results. It is a feeling of simple brotherhood, as far as life is concerned, with the unfortunate brutes, which makes the Jainas so tenderly preserve them. For the life of man, this feeling is by no means so strong among them as for the life of brutes. While the slaughter of a cow in one of their towns would well-nigh produce a rebellion, the slaughter of a helpless infant would scarcely excite among them a feeble dissatisfaction."—Rev. Dr. J. Wilson, *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India*, p. 27, see also p. 263.

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Acarya in the time of Candra Suri the fifteenth teacher,[47] who lived eight hundred and nine years after the death of Mahavira, or about A.D. 282. This is hardly consistent however with the statement that Mahavira himself, the last Tirthankara, and probably the real founder of the Jaina sect, was a Digambara, and went about in a state of perfect nudity.[48] Now-a-days however the Digambaras do not go naked but wear coloured clothes, throwing aside their wrappers only when they receive the food given to them by their disciples. The Svetambaras decorate the images of their Tirthankaras with earrings, necklaces, armlets, and crowns of gold and jewels;[49] the Digambaras do not ornament them, or even insert eyes of crystal, etc., in them. They likewise deny the importance of the *tripuṇi* and *rajoharaṇa*, that women can attain *nirvāṇa*, and that the *Aṇgas*[50] or Scriptures were written by the immediate disciples of the Jinas. The Bhattaraka or pointiff of the Digambaras lives, indoors at least, without any clothing whatever, as a proof, if not the reward of austerities and the denial of all earthly feelings. There is only one temple belonging to this sect at Satrunjaya, but they appear to have been influential at one time. The caves at Gwalior are of Digambara origin, and have statues,

[47] Wilson, *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 337. Tod (*Travels in Western India*, p. 389) says: "in Samvat 400, A.D. 344;" but this may have arisen from an error in the hundreds figure, as S.300 and A.D. 244 nearly agrees with the date given above, if we place the death of Mahavira 569 B.C., as given by Princep (*Useful Tables*, p. 166). Col. Miles says the Digambara sect in some *Pattavalis* "is ascribed to a certain priest named Sri or Tri Gupta; and the date of its rise, S. 609 or A.D. 552: in others, it is stated to have arisen 984 years after Mahavira, that is A.D. 457." It is also ascribed to the time of Bhadra Bahu, the fifth Srutakevali, about 365 B.C., when it is related twelve successive years of famine occurred, and the Jainas were dispersed, those migrating eastward became Digambaras, and those westward Svetambaras. "In the list of the succession of the Tapa priests or Acaryas, it is also stated that Gode Mali, or Ghos Mahil, the first Digambara, lived about S.608 or A.D. 551, and he had four *celas*, named Canda, Canaka, Naurat and Vedita, each of these instituted a separate sect about S.620 or A.D. 563; they were originally called Vanavasi. This division is said to be most numerous in Rajputana; there are however some in Gujarat, as the Humada and other Vanias."—*Trans R. As. Soc.*, Vol. III. p. 368 and Delamaine, *Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 416, 417.

[48] Stevenson, *Kalpa Sutra*, Introd. p. xiv. For some curious notices of the *six* Tirthakas—Purna Kasyapa, Mankhali Gosala, Nirgrantha Nathaputra, Ajita Kesa-Kambala, Sanjaya Belathiputra and Prakuddha Katyayana, see A. Remusat, *Foe Koue Ki*, pp. 149, 150; Laidlay, *Pilgrimage of Fa-Hien*, pp. 144, 145; Sykes, *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. VI. pp. 266, 267 or 'Notes on the State of Ancient India', pp. 20, 21; and Alwis, *Buddhism, Its Origin*, etc., pp. 7-12.

[49] Conf. H. H. Wilson, *Works*, Vol. I., p. 339. Francklin, *Researches on the Tenets and Doctrines of the Jeynes and Boodhists*, p. 189.

[50] These are thus enumerated: *Acarangam, Sutrakrtangam, Sthanangam, Samavayangam, Bhagavatyangam, Jnatadharmakatha, Upasakadasa, Antakrddasa, Anuttaropapatikadasa, Prasnavyakaranam*, and *Vipakasutram*, eleven in all.—Hemacandra's *Abhidhana Cintamani*, 243, 244 (Ed. Boehtlingk and Rieu), p. 39.

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some of them fifty feet in height; and some of the more western caves at Elura belong to this sect,—as do also many old structural temples in Orissa, Central India and Karnatak. They have temples at Girnar and at Jayapur; at the latter place and at Nagor near Jodhpur, their Bhattarakas and many Digambara families reside. They have Bhattarakas also at Kela near Surat, at Nanni in Dharwad, and at Chikodi. In the temple at Bhelupura, the suburbs of Benares, the shrine comprises two temples—one of the Svetambaras, and one of the Digambaras. The Digambaras are divided into several sects: the Mula Sanghis carry brushes of peacock's feathers (*kuchā*), wear reddish clothes, and receive alms only in their hands,—they prevail in the Karnataka; the Kastha Sanghis make their images of wood, use brushes of the tail of the Yak, and live about Jayapur and Gwalior; the Terapanthis—it is said, formed in Todar Mall's time—do not worship the Bhattarakas, but honour the Jinas and the Jaina scriptures, which they hear expounded by one of their own laity—a brother (*bhāijī*),—they also prevail about Jayapur. The Dhundiyas or Lampakas believe in thirty-two *sūtras*, and do not worship images, though they revere the twenty-four Tirthankaras; nor have they images or pictures in their temples which are called *upāsarā*. They do not wash their clothes. They are pretty numerous about Surat, Ahmedabad and in Rajputana, as well as in Kathiawad.[51]

Of the eighty-four clans or gachhas[52] into which the Jainas are divided, the greater number are Svetambaras, and those most prevalent in Gujarat are the Tapa and Kharatara gachhas; but members of the Oswals,[53] Sagara, Bhavarsi, Ancalika, Punamiya, and others are also

[51] They teach that the essence of religion consists in the observance by laymen of the four *dharmamarga* or religious ways: *dana*—charity, *sila*—upright conduct, *tapa*—austerity, *bhavana*—faith and by the Yatis of *daya*—compassion, of *strityaga*—celibacy, *jibhakarma*—control of the tongue, *agnikarma*—abstinence from the use of fire, *karnakarma*—avoiding the hearing of evil, *vayukarma*—keeping out of the way of the wind, and *gotrakarma*—the dissolution of family ties. Dr. J. Wilson, *Orient. Chr. Spec.*, 1835, p. 295. To these add *namakarma*—change of name.

[52] No two lists of these appear to agree; compare Wilson, *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 345, or *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. XVII. p. 293; Briggs, *Cities of Gujarat*, p. 339, and Miles, *Trans. R. Asiat Soc.*, Vol. III. pp. 357-371.

[53] The Oswal Banias present the Bhojakas with a horse and *cauri* on marriage occasions, and with a present of money when caste dinners occur. This and part of the information given above is due to Dr. Bhau Daji.
For further information consult Colebrooke, 'On the Philosophy of the Hindus', Part iv.—*Trans. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol I. pp. 549-558, or *Essays* (1837), Vol. I. pp. 378-390; 'Observations on the Jains'—*Asiat. Researches*, Vol. IX. pp. 287-322, or *Essays*, ut. sup., Vol. II. pp. 191-224; 'On Inscriptions at Temples of the Jaina Sect. in South Behar'—*Trans. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 520-523, or *Essays*, Vol. I. pp. 315-320; Major C. Mackenzie, 'Account of the Jains'—*Asiat. Res.*, Vol. IX.

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met with. Each gachha has its own Sri Pujya; the Tapa gachha has twelve or thirteen *gaddis* or seats of their Sri Pujyas—the principal of whom lives in the Jayapur territories; and the Kharatara gachha has three Sri Pujyas.

pp. 244-286; *Asiat. Annual Register*, Vol. X (1808). pp. 609-614; Major Delamaine, *Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 413-348; Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, in *ib.* pp. 523-527 and 531-540; Lieut-Col. Francklin, 'Description of the Temple of Parsvanatha at Samet Sikhar' in *ib.* pp. 527-530, and *Researches on the Tenets and Doctrines of the Jeynes and Boodhists* (1827), pp. 92-100, and 180-207; Lieut-Col. Tod, 'On the Religious Establishments of Mewar'—*Trans. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. II. pp. 270-325; H. H. Wilson, 'Religious Sects of the Hindus'—*Asiat. Resear.*, Vol. XVII. pp. 239-294, or *Works*, Vol. I. pp. 276-346; Lient-Col. Miles, 'On the Jainas of Gujarat and Marwar'—*Trans. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. III. pp. 335-371; Stevenson, *Kalpa Sutra and Nava Tatva*; Briggs, *Cities of Gujarat*, pp. 325-356; Erskine, *Trans. Bombay Literary Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 202-203, and Vol. III. pp. 494-537; Coleman, *Mythology of the Hindus*, pp. 220-227; Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 235-241 and 249-257, and *Hindu Infanticide*, pp. 174-189; Lieut-Col. Wilks, *Historical Sketches in the History of Mysore* (1810), Vol. I. pp. 88, 89 and 507-514; L' Abbe Dubois (Paris 1823), *Moeurs des Peuples de l'Inde*, tom. I. pp. 138, 139, et. tom. II. pp. 499-521; Ward, *View of the History etc. of the Hindus*, 3rd ed. (1817), Vol. II. pp. 243-269; Dr. F. Buchanan, *Journey through Mysore*, etc., Vol. II. pp. 74, 75 and 80-82, Vol. III. pp. 73-74, 132-134 and 410-412; Heber, *Narrative of a Journey* etc. (ed. 1828), Vol. I. p. 292, Vol. II. pp. 22, 94-97 and 157; Forbes, *Ras Mala*, Vol. II. pp. 236, 237.

4926

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IV

HISTORICAL NOTICES

Of the very early history of Gujarat very little is known. The tradition of Krsna's residence, and other references seem to indicate that an early principality existed in Saurashtra; and a Greek writer of the second century speaks of the peninsula as then under one rule.[54] From coins we obtain the names[55] of kings between twenty and thirty of the Sah dynasty from Nahapana B.C. 60 or 70 to Svami Rudra Sah in the middle of the third century A.D. Then follows the Valabhi dynasty, known to us principally from copper-plate grants dug up on the site of the ancient capital a few miles from Bhavnagar. Wathen, Lassen and Dr. Bhau Daji[56] have each endeavoured to construct the genealogy and chronology of this dynasty, but the differences in the dates assigned are considerable—thus Dharasena II or Sridharasena I is placed by Wathen in A.D. 319, by Lassen in 530, and by Dr. Bhau Daji about 400-404; Dhruvasena III is placed in A.D. 660 by Lassen, and in 410 by Dr. Bhau, who brings Siladitya IV not earlier than 425, whilst Wathen ascribed to him the epoch of A.D. 559.

If the *Mahātmya* is to be trusted, the author of it converted one Siladitya to Jainism. Tradition adds that he was at first a Jaina but had been converted to Buddhism after a public disputation held at his court, and that, after finally embracing the Jaina religion, he restored and embellished the Satrunjaya temples. Our next notice is in the *Kalpa Sūtra*[57] which, if we might believe its own statement, was composed about A.D. 453. It mentions the prince then reigning as Dhruvasena, and makes his capital Anandapura, now Badnagar. But internal evidences cast doubts on the age of these compositions, and Wilson asserts that the latter "could not have been composed earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth century",[58] while the presumption seems strong against a much earlier antiquity belonging to the former.

[54] Vincent's *Periplus*, p. 111. (Note on Mambarus).

[55] Dr. Bhau Daji, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. VIII. pp. 243-244 and Mr. Justice Newton, *ib.*, Vol. IX. pp. 1-19.

[56] Wathen, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. III. p. 215; *Jour. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. IV. p. 480, etc., and Princep's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I. pp. 252-264; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, III. pp. 1159-1160; Dr. Bhau Daji, *ut. sup.*, p. 245.

[57] Stevenson, *Kalpa Sutra*, p. 15.

[58] H. H. Wilson, *Works*, Vol. I. p. 330, *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. XVII. pp. 281-282.

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From the emblem on the Valabhi banner being that of *nandī* or sacred bull of Siva, from the seals attached to some of the copper-plate inscriptions, and from the number of *liṅgas* dug up on the site of the city, the evidence is pretty conclusive that the sovereigns and people were devoted Saivas, though, like some of the Calukyas, they may have also patronised the Bauddhas and Jainas. Their capital was destroyed,[59] according to Colonel Tod about A.D. 524, by an invasion of barbarians from the north-west.

The only other historical notice we have is the statement of Hiuen Thsang, the celebrated Chinese Buddhist, who visited the city about A.D. 635. He describes Valabhi (Fa-la-pi) as "a kingdom nearly 1,200 miles in circuit, and the circumference of its capital six miles. As regards the products of the soil, the nature of the climate, the customs and character of the people, this kingdom resembles Malava (Mo-la-p'o). The population is very numerous, and all the families live in opulence. There are a hundred whose wealth amounts to a million (ounces of silver). The rarest merchandise from distant countries is found here in abundance. There are a hundred convents where nigh 6,000 devotees live, who, for the most part study the doctrines of the school of the Sammatiyas (Ching-liang-pu) which adheres to the 'lesser translation'.[60] We count many hundred temples of the gods; the heretics of various sects are exceedingly numerous.

"When the Tathagata (Buddha) lived in the world, he travelled often in this region. Wherefore in all the places where the Buddha rested king Wu-yeu (Asoka) raised pillars in honour of him or constructed *stūpas*. We observe at intervals the monuments that mark the places where the three past Buddhas had sat, had laboured, or preached the law.

"The kings of the present age are of the (Ts' a-ti-li) Ksatriya race; all are nephews of king Siladiya (Shi-lo-'o-t'ie-to) of Malava. At present the son of king Siladitya of Kanyakubja, has a son-in-law called Dhruvapatu (Tu-lu-p'o-tu).[61] He is of a quick and passionate nature, and his intellect is weak and narrow; still he believes sincerely in 'the three precious things'.[62] For seven days every year he holds a great assembly

[59] See an interesting, though somewhat imaginative account of Valabhi and its overthrow in the *Bombay Quarterly Review*, Vol. II. pp. 266-281, and the whole legend of Siladitya in Forbes's *Ras Mala*, Vol. I. pp. 13-19.

[60] In Chinese Siao-ching, Sans. Hinayana: the *ching* or *yana* is the means by which transference or translation to a higher condition is effected.

[61] In Chinese Ch'ang-jui "invariably learned".

[62] In Chinese, San-p'ao, Sans. *Triratna*, that is *Buddha*, *Samgha* (the congregation), and *Dharma* (the law).

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at which he distributes to the multitude of recluses, choice dishes, the three garments, medicine, the seven precious things, and rare objects of great value. After giving all these in alms, he buys them back at double price. He esteems virtue and honours the sages, he reverences religion and values science. The most eminent holy men of distant countries are always objects of respect with him.

"At a little distance from the city there is a great convent, built long ago by the care of the Arhat Acarya. It was there that the Bodhisattvas Gunamati (Te-hoei) and Sthiramati (Kien-hoei) fixed their abode and composed several books (*śāstras*) which are all published with praise."[63]

The prevalence of Hinduism is clearly enough stated here, but what of the Jainas? Does he mean them by the Ching-liang-pu whom he seems to regard as only a heretical sect of Bauddhas? On many occasions we find him combatting the various Hinayana schools, which in his time were so prevalent in India, and particularly opposing the Ching-liang-pu, which he tells us was the dominant school in Valabhi, Anandapura, and Malava.[64]

Passing over some other names we come to the Cawadas who in A.D. 745 fixed their capital at Anahilawada Pattana or Nerwaleh in the

[63] M. Stanislas Julien's *Memoires sur les Contrees Occidentales*, tom. II. pp. 162-164, and *Histoire de la Vie*, p. 369-371, and compare M. Eugene Jacquet's 'Notice of the Valabhi dynasty of Saurashtra, extracted from the Buddhist records of the Chinese'—*Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. V. p. 687; also *Ras Mala*, Vol. I. p. 23. "De la il fit mille li au nord et arriva an royaume de Fa-la-pi (Valabhi). Il y a une centaine de couvents ou l'on compte environ six mille religieux qui tous etudient la doctrine de l'ecole Tching-liang-pou (l'ecole des Sammatiyas), qui se rattache au petit Vehicule. Quand Jou-lai (le Tathagata) vivait, it voyagea souvent dans ce royaume. Dans tous les lieux ou etait arrive le Bouddha, le roi Wou-Yeou (Asoka) eleva des monuments pour en conservir le souvenir. Le roi actuel est de la race des Tsa-ti-li (Ksattriyas); it est le gendre de Chi-lo'-o-tie-to (Siladitya) roi de Kie-jo-kio-che (Kanyakubja); son nom est Tou-lou-p'o-po-t'o (Dhrouvapatou). Il est d'un naturel vif et bouillant et ses manieres sont brusques et importees; cependant il honore la vertu et estime la science. Il est rempli de foi et d'attachement pour less Trois precieux. Chaque annee, il convoque une grande assemblee, et, pendant sept jours, il envite les religieux des divers royaumes. Il leur distribue des mets recherches, des lits, des sieges, des vetements et jusqua des medicaments de tout genre; en un mot, il les comble de tout biens."—*Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Thsang*, pp. 206, 207. Five "li" are very nearly one English mile.

[64] This has been noticed by Weber, *Satr. Mah.* p.9. See *Vie de Hiuen Thsang*, pp. 241, 358, 370, 419, etc.

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north of the peninsula.[65] Vana Raja, the founder of Anahilawada, was discovered by Shilaguna Suri, a Jaina monk; and to his age may belong the original temples at Rantoj and Sankhesvara near the old capital Pancasara; but, though tolerant, he was probably a Hindu, as were his successors at least till Kumarapala.

Samanta Sinha the last Raja, dying in A.D. 942 without male issue, was succeeded by his nephew or son-in-law Mula Raja,[66] a prince of the Rajput tribe of Solanki or Calukya, of the family of the kings of Kalyana in the Deccan. Among his successors Durlabha is said to have been instructed in the Jaina doctrines and "travelled in the good road of pity for living things"; to Karna is attributed the erection of a splendid temple to Neminatha at Girnar, still known as Karna Vihara; and during the minority of her son Siddha Raja, Mainala Devi's ministers, probably Vanias, raised costly *vihāras* and temples at Karnavati. During the reign of this prince (A.D. 1093-1142), it is said, Kumuda Candra a learned Digambara, who has overcome his opponent in eighty-four religious controversies, came from Karnataka, to seek fresh laurels by the conquest of the Gujarat Svetambaras. Siddha Raja and his mother, recognising him as the spiritual preceptor of Jaya Kesi the father of the latter, received

[65] The following is a list of the princes of this dynasty, drawn chiefly from the Hon. A. K. Forbes's *Ras Mala*, to which I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations, especially in what follows relating to matters of history :

A.D. 745 Vana Raja, son of Samanta Sinha or Jaya Sikhari.
806 Yoga Raja, son of Vana Raja.
841 Bhima Raja or Ksema Raja, son of Yoga Raja.
866 Bhuyada, son of Ksema Raja.
895 Vaira Sinha, son of Bhuyada.
920 Ratnaditya, son of Vaira Sinha.
935 Samanta Sinha, son of Ratnaditya.

Conf. *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. IX. pp. 155-157; Wilford, *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. IX. pp. 184-208.

[66] See *Ayin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. p. 74 et seq; Elliot, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. IV. p. 1; Col. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. pp. 83, 97, 101, 206. The date of Mula Raja's accession is variously given A.D. 942, and 960. The Solanki Dynasty stands thus:

942 Mula Raja Solanki, nephew of Samanta.
997 Camunda Raja Deva, son of Mula Raja, invaded by Sultan Mahmud.
1010 Valabha (Beyser or Bisela, '*Ay. Ak*'), son of Camunda.
1010 Durlabha Raja Deva, son of Camunda, usurped the throne.
1021 Bhima Raja Deva, nephew of Durlabha Raja; Mahmud invaded Gujarat.
1073 Sri Karna Deva, Kala Deva, or Visala Deva.
1093 Siddha Raja Jayasinha Deva, son of Karna.
1142 Kumarapala Deva, son of Tribhuvanapala, and grandson of Bhima.
1173 Ajayapala Deva, son of Jayasinha.
1176 Laghu Mula Raja Deva II., son of Ajayapala, a child.
1178 Bhima Deva, brother of Ajayapala.

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him with kindness. Deva Suri a learned Jaina of Karnavati and the celebrated Hemacarya were chosen as the champions of the Svetambaras, and the disputation was arranged to take place in the royal presence and before the court. Kumuda Candra arrived in great state but injured his cause by the written statement read out before the court as follows:

"Kumuda Candra contends that the Kevali, who is possessed of holy knowledge and is on the way to attain *kaivalya*, or eternal emancipation, should not eat; that the man who wears clothes cannot attain liberation; that females cannot attain liberation. Deva Suri contends that the Kevali may eat; that the man who wears clothes, and also women, may attain liberation." Of course, as one might naturally expect, Mainala Devi ceased to support the Digambara whom she declared—"a man ignorant of human character".

Towards the end of his reign, Merutunga relates that Siddha Raja committed the government of Sorath to Sajan, a military officer who devoted the royal revenue for three years to rebuilding the temple of Neminatha at Girnar; and, on being called to account, satisfied his sovereign, and was further entrusted with the charge of the *tīrthas* of Satrunjaya and Ujjayanta or Girnar. It is also added that soon after, on his return from Somanatha, Siddha Raja visited both these holy places and, notwithstanding the dissent of his Brahmin councillors, he made a grant of twelve villages to the shrine of Rsabhanatha.

With the next sovereign Kumarapala (A.D. 1142-1173) the Jainas come more prominently into notice. Kumarapala was the son of Tribhuvana Pala, the son of Deva Prasada, and great grandson of Ksema Raja. He had become obnoxious to Siddha Raja and fled from Anahilawada, but afterwards returned and entered a Jaina convent as an ascetic. Here he was discovered, and again fled to Stambha Tirtha or Khambat (Cambay), where he is said to have been entertained and instructed by Udayana Mehta and the famous Jaina Monk Hemacarya. On ascending the throne Vagbhat Deva the son of Udayana was made his principal minister. Kumara, like the other Solanki sovereigns, was much engaged in war, and carried his arms far into Malava on the north and to Kolhapur in the south. Still the Jainas never lost the hold they had gained over him during his exile. Udayana Mantri found an opportunity for reintroducing the astute and ambitious Hemacarya to the king. "One's own royalty", reflected the monk, "or the subjection of the king to ones self,—these are the only roads towards effecting an object"; and so successfully did he pursue the latter, that the Brahmanas about the king soon saw that he or they must lose the royal favour. They accordingly raised complaints against him, among others charging

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him with refusing to worship the Sun.[67] Hemacandra, not yet prepared to attack his opponents, satisfied the king, saying—"This splendid mansion of light I ever retain in my heart; at the time of whose setting I abandon food." With a like policy he was ever as ready to quote the Hindu *śāstras* as the Jaina authorities in support of his views, and when Kumarapala sought his advice as to a proper object on which to expend money as a religious act, the wily Jaina advised the restoration of the temple of Somesvara (A.D. 1168). But to ensure the successful completion of the work, he advised the king to take a vow to abstain either from connection with women or from the use of animal food until the work should be finished. The latter alternative was what the Jaina wished and the king chose; but when, after two years, the temple was completed and the king asked the monk to release him from his vow,—"Behold", said the Acarya, "in virtue of this abstinence you are fit to appear before Mahadeva. When your pilgrimage thither shall have been accomplished, it will be time to throw off that vow." The Brahmanas thought to entrap Hemacandra and advised the king to propose: he should accompany the royal retinue to Somanatha; the proposal was made and the Jaina at once replied, "What need of pressing the hungry man to partake of food; pilgrimage is the life of the ascetic; what need is there of an order from the king." The Acarya started on foot to visit Satrunjaya and Girnar by the way, arranging to meet Kumarapala at Deva Pattana. At the inauguration of the new temple, he astonished the king and the Brahmanas by his voluntary devotions to Siva. At the threshold of the temple he exclaimed, "In the splendour of this shrine Mahadeva, who dwells in Kailasa, is surely present." Then entering and going through the proscribed gesticulations before the Linga, he said,—"Thou existed whatever be thy place, whatever be thy time, whatever be thy name, of whatsover nature thou art. Thou art he in whom is no guilty act, no gultiness consequent upon the act,—one only god! Praise be to thee! He who has destroyed the affections, which are the seeds that produce the bud of existence, be he Brahma, be he Visnu, be he Siva, to him be praise!"

[67] The Suryapatyas or Sauras, "are those who worship Surya, the Sun-god, only; there are a few of them, but very few, and they scarcely differ from the rest of the Hindus in their general observances. The *tilaka*, or frontal mark, is made in a particular manner, with red sandal, and the necklace should be of crystal: these are their chief peculiarities: besides which they eat one meal without salt on every Sunday, and each Sankranti, or sun's entrance into a sign of the zodiac: they cannot eat either until they have beheld the Sun, so that it is fortunate that they inhabit his native regions." Ananda Giri distinguishes six classes of Sauras, one of whom "deemed it unnecessary to address their devotions to the visible and material Sun: they provided a mental luminary, on which they meditated, and to which their adoration was offered."—H. H. Wilson, *Works*, Vol. I. pp. 266 and 19, 20. This accords well with the Acarya's reply quoted above.

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Then falling flat on the ground he adored Siva in the "straight prostration". This no doubt had its effect, and after the ceremonies were over Kumarapala and Hemacarya entered the shrine alone, closing the door behind them. Here it is said the Acarya made Somesvara reveal himself, who thus addressed the king,—"O king, this monk is an incarnation of all the gods; he is without deceit; to him is given to behold the Divinity as a pearl in his hand; he is acquainted with the past, the present, and the future. The path which he shall show you, that understand to be, without doubt, the road to liberation." Of course the Jaina took advantage of the position thus attained, and there and then administered to Kumarapala a vow to abstain from animal food and fermented liquor to the end of his life. Brhaspati Ganda, a Kanauj Brahmana, was left in charge of the shrine of Somesvara[68] but so potent had the Acarya become, that he was afterwards deprived for a time of his place for "dispraising the Jaina religion", and only restored on making the most humble submission to the monk. The king was now under the instructions and direction of Hemacandra, and soon forbade the destruction of animal life in his dominions for a period of fourteen years; the Brahmanas who offered living sacrifices in their rites, were forbidden to continue the practice, and thus began to present offerings of grain; while the trade of those who sold flesh was put a stop to and three years' income allowed them in compensation. At Anahilapura, Kumarapala built a temple to Mahadeva and another to Parsvanatha named the Kumara Vihara. At Deva Pattana also he built a Jaina temple, 'so splendid as to attract crowds of pilgrims'. The temple adjoining the Bhima Kund at Girnar is likewise attributed to him.

"Kumarapala", adds the *Rās Mālā*, "now assented to the twelve vows of the Jaina religion. At the time of taking the third vow, the purport of which was that he would receive nothing which was not acquired by exertions of his own, the Acarya instructed him that it was a great sin to receive into the royal treasury the property of those who died without male heirs. The king, abandoning that source of revenue, caused it to be proclaimed that he had, by that act, rendered himself greater than Raghu, Nahusa or Bharata—kings of the golden age."[69]

Udayana Mantri perished in an expedition against a refractory Chief of Sorath, leaving to his three sons Vagbhat, Vahada or Bahada, and Amrabhat, to accomplish for him the vows he had made of erecting temples at Bharoch and Satrunjaya. Accordingly in A.D. 1154, Vahada built, near Satrunjaya, the town of Vahadapura, and Amrabhat erected

[68] See the inscription found by Col. Tod, *Travels in Western India*, pp. 504, 505.
[69] Forbes, *Ras Mala*, Vol. I. p. 195.

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a temple at Bharoch. About the same time the king likewise built a temple at Khambat on the site of the convent where he had been received by Udayana Mehta and Hemacarya. At a subsequent date Kumarapala undertook a pilgrimage to Satrunjaya; on the way he erected a temple over the place of Hemacarya's birth at Danduka, called the "Cradle-Vihara"; and at Satrunjaya, under the direction of Sri Vagbhat, he caused to be formed a new road of approach to the sacred hill. Vagbhat also erected the Jaina temple at Vahadapura, called Tribhuvanapala Vihara after Kumarapala's father, and assigned land for the subsistence of its attendants.

After a reign of thirty-one years, the king Kumarapala died, it is said of leprosy at the age of about eighty-one but not before the death of his favourite adviser in his eighty-fourth year. After the powerful influence of such a man as Hemacandra had ceased, it was but natural to expect that the Brahmanas would not fail to take advantage of the opportunity to re-establish their power. Indeed Jaina and Brahmana traditions appear to indicate that even before the death of the great Jaina ascetic, the contest had begun on the part of the Brahmanas under the championship of Sankara Svami, a Dravida Brahmana, of whom many extravagant tales are related.

Kumarapala dying without male issue, was succeeded by Ajayapala, the son of Mahipala, Kumara's brother. He put himself at the head of the reaction against the Jainas, and began his reign by throwing down every temple that Kumarapala had raised, except the one at Taringa, near Abu, dedicated to Ajitanatha. The Jaina leaders were put to death; and Amrabhat armed his followers to protect himself but fell in the attempt. But Ajaya's career was too turbulent to last long; a door-keeper plunged his dagger into the heart of the king, and he was succeeded by his infant son Mula Raja II in A.D. 1176, in whose time Mahammad Shahab-ud-din Ghori marched by Uchha and Multan into Gujarat. Mula Raja's mother "Nayaki Devi, the daughter of Paramardi Raja, taking in her lap the child-king, maintained a struggle at a hill named Gaodorargadh and Bhima Deva, the brother of Ajayapala, who seemes to have been the leader of his sister-in-law's forces, defeated the Muslim invader.

Mula Raja was succeeded in A.D. 1178 by his uncle Bhima Deva II surnamed Bholo—the arrogant or insane,—who was engaged in frequent feuds with the princes of Rajasthan. He was a Jaina and had the Jaina monk Amara Singha in his service. It is even said he persecuted the Brahmanas among the Yadavas of Parkar and the Shodas. In A.D. 1194 Kutb-ud-din, as general of Muhammad Ghori, invaded Gujarat, defeated Bhima Deva, and plundered Anahilapattana and the neighbour-

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ing country. Still no permanent occupation of the country took place, and two years after, Bhima Deva assisted in besieging Kutb-ud-din in Ajmer. Obliged to raise the siege, he was pursued by the Muhammadan general, his city taken and a strong garrison left in it. Bhima Deva, the last of the Solanki race died in A.D. 1214.

The Vaghela dynasty[70] succeeded, founded by Vira Dhavala, in whose time Tejapala, the brother of Vastupala, erected his temple at Mount Abu about A.D. 1231. They were Porwala Vanias of Anahilapattana, and the first was entrusted by Vira Dhavala with the management of his affairs. The shrines at Satrunjaya now began to rise in numbers, but we know but little of the court history of Visala Deva, the son of Vira Dhavala, and his successors Arjuna Deva, Lavana Deva, Saranga Deva and Karna Deva surnamed Ghelo or "the insane"—the last Hindu prince.

In A.D. 1297 the Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji—still known throughout Gujarat as Khuni, "the bloody",—sent his brother Alif Khan to effect the reconquest of the country. He possessed himself of Anahilapattana, and Karna Deva became a fugitive in Baglana. Many an idol shrine both Hindu and Jaina was then desecrated and destroyed; to save their gods from Islam's fury, many hid them underground, and numbers of them have since been dug up, but the only temples that escaped were those which the conquerors converted into mosques.

Very soon after, however, we find the Jainas busy repairing and rebuilding their holy places. But under the Mahammadan rule we hear but little of them except what we learn from their own inscriptions. In the reign of the great Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) whose spirit of tolerance and eclecticism led him to form the idea of embracing all the Indian creeds in his new Ilahi Din or "Religion of God",—the Jainas obtained a warrant[71] prohibiting the slaughter of animals, etc. wherever their

[70] The Vaghela dynasty is thus given at the end of Merutunga's *Theravali* :

A.D. 1243	S. 1300	Sri Visala-deva, brother of Vira Dhavala
1261	1318	Arjuna-deva.
1274	1331	Saranga-deva.
1279	1335	Laghu Karna
1303	1360	Madhava, a Nagara Brahmin who brought the Yavanas or Muhammadans.

—Dr. Bhau Daji, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. IX. p. 155; and conf. Forbes, *Ras Mala*, Vol. I. p. 276; and Princep, *Useful Tables*, p. 256.

[71] "In a remarkable *sanad* or document bearing the bonafide seal of Akbar, which has recently come to light, the name under which Paresnath was known in that emperor's age appears to have been Samet Sikhar. This whole hill together with

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faith was practised. "It was this scrupulous regard", says Tod, "for the religious opinions of all the varied sects within his mighty realm, that procured this monarch the enviable designation of Jagat Guru, 'the guardian of mankind', and which caused him to be regarded by the Vaisnavas as an incarnation of Kanhaiya. His son, the unstable Jahangir, eventually confirmed this and all their other privileges although, while swerving from the tenets of Islam, he watered amongst the metaphysical sects of the Hindus: on one occasion he had actually commanded the circumcision of all the priests of the Oswals in his dominions,—a fate which was only averted by the tact of an Acarya.[72]

The following translation of an inscription at Satrunjaya record the benefactions of Akbar, granted apparently in A.D. 1589.

Om ! Obeisance! May the excellent Marudeva[73], the righteous, the first lord, the highest good of the perfectly meritorious, the fish (*makara*) of the ocean of happiness, be your benefactor; as the Sun in the heavens, spreading his rays, expands the lotuses, so this frontal jewel, by the touch of his lotus feet, has ever proved the source of glory (expander of lotuses) to the Satrunjaya Mountain. May the Lord Sri Varddhamana, a Moon, an asylum of the highest effulgence, born in the lake of the dynasty of Sri Siddhartha Raja, protect you; whose speech explaining the nature of production, existence, and destruction, as well as the origin of the less and greater ceremonial observances, is remarkable for its sweetness and has purified the world.

In the ocean of Varddhamana's succeeding disciples was a Ganadhara named Sudharma[74] as it were the Moon, whose feet were embraced by the hosts of Indra, and was an abode of knowledge. The successors of this wise man having their good minds full of liberality and exceeding joy,—like the speech of the lord Vira (Viraprabhu),—even now have

others in Bihar and Gujarat, was granted to, and bestowed upon Hira Vijaya Suri Acarya, the then pontiff of the Svetambara Jaina sect, by Akbar. They were given in perpetuity; and there is an especial clause prohibiting the killing of animals either on, below, or about the hills." Bholanath Chunder, *Travels of a Hindoo* (1869), Vol. I. note, pp. 210-211.

[72] Tod, *Travels in Western India*, pp. 290-291.

[73] Marudeva, the son of Marudevi, is synonymous with Rsabhadeva, the first Tirthankara.

[74] One of the eleven Ganadharas or Ganadhipas, heads or masters of the Jaina schools, the disciples of Mahavira and teachers of his doctrines. Sudharma was the son of Dhammila, a Brahmana of the Agnivesyayana tribe, and besides Gautama or Indrabhuti, he was the only other Ganadhara present at the death of their master, all the others having died previously. Gautama also died a month after, leaving Sudharma as the last Kevali or possessor of true knowledge.

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attained eminence in the world. Afterwards, in time there flourished in that line the Suris Susthita and Supratibaddha,[75] and through them the Order became brilliant. In this order there fluorished Vajra Rsi,[76] the chief of Ganas, revered by the Indras, and the source of the Vajra Sakha (branch), just as the Himalaya is the source of the Ganga (Ganges). In the firmament of their succession table arose the sun Sri Vajrasenguru, and there flourished his disciples—Nagendra, Candra,[77] Nirvritti and Vidyadhara. From them issued four divisions (kulas) according to their respective names, and among them the Candra kula attained the highest glory. In succession many Suris flourished, worthy of fame and revered by the world, destroying darkness like the Sun. In course of time, in this line of succession flourished Sri Jagaccandra Suri[78] who obtained the title of Tapa, in 1285 (Samvat, i.e. A.D. 1228). Afterwards there arose in this gana, Hemavimala Suri, and in the list of his successors fluourished Anandavimala Suri.[79] He rescued from corruption the path of the religious observances of the sadhus, the asylum of positive faith in Sam. 1582.[80] These Suris have enlightened the world by the sweetness of their collective speech, quenching the passions like showers of rain. This succession-list of the Suris, by its glory producing gladness of heart in the people, like the stream of the Bhagirathi, was made illustrious by the pure-hearted, glory-giving Vijaya Dana Muni, a *hansa*—whose glory humbles the pride of Hari, whose form eclipses the beauty of Rambha's husband (Indra), whose energy steals the brightness of the friend of the lotuses (i.e., the Sun). Seeing this daily, Visnu, Indra, and the Sun, were inexpressibly overcome with the greatness of shame, and the three attain-

[75] These two are placed as contemporaries in the list of Sthaviras (Pali—Theras) or high priests of the Jainas, and are successors of Arya Suhasti Suri, the second Dasapurvi, who died 291 years after Mahavira, or about 236 B.C. They stand ninth in the succession from Mahavira. Stevenson calls him the second Supritibhadra; but the name appears to be omitted in some lists. Arya Susthita Suri is described as of the Kotika gana or family.

[76] Vajra Svami Suri, the seventh and last of the Dasapurvis and thirteenth in the list of Sthaviras, is called Jatismara in Stevenson's list. He flourished about A.D. 57, and is said to have established a particular division called the Vajra Sakha. His successor was Sauparaka Vajrasena, about A.D. 90.

[77] Candra Suri is the fifteenth in the list of Sthaviras, he was the founder of the Kula or succession that bears his name.

[78] Jagaccandra Suri is the 45th in Stevenson's list and the 44th in a MS. copy belonging to the Rev. Dr. Wilson,—the two lists differing in the 38th, 39th and 40th names. He was perhaps the same as Jinacandra, to whom is attributed the Laghu Kharatara division.

[79] Hemavimala Suri, Anandavimala, Vijayadana, and Hiravijaya Suri, are respectively the 55th, 56th, 57th and 58th Sthaviras in the lists.

[80] A.D. 1525—the date of Dosi Karma Sah's restoration of the Adisvara Bhagavan temple.

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ed Gopatva[81]. Their most celebrated order[82]...washed by the milk of the kindness of Hira Vijaya, clean as a royal place blessed by the greatest and most brilliant lights—was the seat of the greatest prowess.

From the country of Gurjara, Srimat Sahi Akbar summoned with honours the greatest of Suris to the good land of Mewata...who with their illuminating speech, like the Sun in the firmament, removed the total darkness and everywhere filled the world with glory. These (Suris) filling the eyes of the people (like a family of Koka birds) with happiness, by the power of their discourse enlightened Fathpura, with delight in (S) 1639...the wilderness of lotuses.

The Emperor, Srimat Sahi Akbar the hero, who caused his commands to be borne as a garland would be on the head of all kings, of delightsome heart, cheered by the collective eloquence of (the Suris), and who has ordered the great drum to be sounded throughout all the provinces, every six months for forgiveness, caused the sin-destructive exhortations (*to abstain from destroying life, etc*) to prevail. Akbar, the Lord of the earth, gladdened by (their) instruction, abandoned all property lapsing (to him) from the people of his territories through failure of heirs, and the tax *jijiyā*. The Emperor (Sahi), the flood of whose mind was cleared by the Kataka[83] seed of the voice (of the Suris), who devoted his soul to the sinless wife—morality, and who was full of mercy, for the love of his subjects remitted the tax (*śulka*[84]) which other kings are unwilling to do. In the same way he often set at liberty many collections of (imprisoned) birds and animals. Gratified by their eloquent discourse, rendering worthless, in comparison, streams of ambrosia itself, the prosperous Akbar, the Lord of the Earth, with a heart full of joy, not only remitted the large income derived as taxes from the mountain, but to gain their hearts, he presented to the Jainas the mountain of Satrunjaya—the greatest of *tīrthas*. The Sahi gladdened by their speech, his heart moved by kindness, caused a library to be added, full of endless learning—a house, as it were, of Sarasvati. His mind purified by their austere virtues, his heart cleansed, the Emperor paid daily honours to the saints (Bhagavatas). The Sahi Akbar, the

[81] That is Hari became a Gopa or Goala; Indra is called Gopa because he has Kamadhenu or *go*—the cow of plenty; and the sun has rays (*go*), or his daughters are cows (*go*). The whole is a play on the various meanings of the word *go*.—B.D.

[82] Some letters wanting in the copy.—B.D.

[83] The *Strychnos Potatorum*, a little of the seed of which when ground and added to muddy water, renders it clear as if it were filtered. It has been found very convenient when travelling.—B.D.

[84] Tax, toll, duty on goods, custom.—H. H. Wilson.

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lotus of whose mind was expanded by the Sun-like discourse (of the Suris)...the Moon of the lotus celebrated in all countries, of merits worthy of the faithful, with a mind devoted to the Arhantas, proved another Srenika Raja.[85]

The Chiefs of the Lumpakas[86] including Meghaji Rsi, etc. leaving wicked ways, daily approached the feet (of Rsabhadeva), as the black bee does the louts. Many excited to enthusiasm by discourses urging abstinence from worldliness, abandoned their former beliefs and entered the *tapa*-way. By their word, the construction of *caityas* was carried on in the holy land, and especially in Gurjara Desa. Large amounts were spent and many chiefs of ascetics resided at the Satrunjaya Mountain with Sanghas from the great realms of Gurjara and Malava.

Vijayasena flourished, a Moon among the chief munis, a glorifier of the sea-like genealogical table, by his discourses the remover of all ignorance, whose humility shines brilliantly throughout the universe, and whose accomplishments are great. The greatness of his prowess is indescribable, who deprived his opponents while living of their sleep. To form his person the lord Brahmadeva took portions of the gods,—abstracting happiness from the god of Love (Kama), effulgence from the Sun, power from the lord of Parvati, accomplishments from the Moon, greatness from the supporter of the Earth (Seas) and gravity from the Ocean.

With honour was he invited by Srimat Akbar ; and, as would playful geese proceed to the sweet-smelling and beautiful lotus-beds, accompanied by many wise and pious men, he resorted speedily to adorn Labhapura, famous for its assemblages of gods and resembling Amravati, the city of Indra. By his eloquence having established Arhanta, the best in the world, the Almighty, in the assembly of the Emperor Akbar, he reduced to nakedness and confusion Bhattas or chiefs of the twice-born (Brahmanas) proud of their powers of disputation. In the assembly of the prosperous Emperor Akbar, conquering the chief disputants by many and long-continued arguments, as lions overcome

[85] Srenika is represented as a king of Magadha or South Bihar, whom Gautama, the disciple of Mahavira, instructed in the Jaina doctrines, and who became their first and most famous patron. Hemacandra identifies him with Bimbisara or, as he calls him—Bhambhasara, whom the Buddhists claim as the contemporary, disciple and friend of their Gautama, and who probably flourished about 504-476 B.C. Conf. Hemacandra, *Abhidhana Cintamani*, 712; Max Muller, *Hist. Anc. Sanskrit Liter.*, pp. 296, 298; Turnour, *Mahavansa*, Introd. pp. xlvii-xlviii.

[86] In the version of Mr. Orlebar and Vinayaka Shastri, this is rendered—"At the exhortation of the saint, even the robber Meghaji," etc.—*Jour. Bomb. Br. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 62.

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the proud elephants, he raised the lofty and faultless pillar of his victory,—bright as Kailasa in the north and a source of happiness to the mind of the all-knowing (the Arhantas).

The Emperor Akbar, of bright intelligence and Lord of the Earth, to please the persevering and bold Hira Vijaya, the prince of Suris, with witnesses, etc. confirmed the *farmān* which he had previously granted. This faultless *farmān* was proclaimed in all directions: and that cows, bulls, buffaloes, male and female, should never be killed, that all property of those dying should be remitted, and that none should be made slaves,—were all granted for the gratification of his people by Akbar, the Lord of the Earth, the tree of whose mind drank from the clouds of the accomplishments (of the Suri). Honoured by the son of Coli Begam (Akbar), the Lord of the Earth, virtuous, full of glory, and distinguished by the best qualities, as garlands deck the necks of lotus-eyed maidens (so) he continually adorns the great land of Gurjara, full of the joys of paradise.[87]

In the reign of Shah Jahan another grant was made under the seal of his second son Murad Bakhsh, the Governor of Gujarat, by which the hill and surrounding district was given in perpetual *inām* to Satidas Javheri, a Sravaka and jeweller to the Court. It runs thus:

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful—

[On the Seal] Murad Bakhsh son of Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Sahib Kiran Sani Sahib Jahan; the Victorious Emperor. 1049

The present and future accounts of the Sarkar of Sorath, exalted by royal favours and hopeful (for distinction) are to know that, whereas at this time the best of the grandees—Satidas the Jeweller, has represented among those standing in the place of assembly which resembles paradise, that at the village of Palitana one of the dependencies of the above mentioned Sarkar, there is a place of worship belonging to Hindus that is called Setrunji, and that the poeple of surrounding districts come there on pilgrimage: the order of the highly dignified, the possessor of exalted rank, has been graciously issued to the effect that the above mentioned village, has been granted from the beginning of the season of Karif

[87] See the Sanskrit copy in the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 96-99. The translation in the same volume (pp. 59-63) not being satisfactory, I have been kindly favoured with the version here given by Dr. Bhau Daji, to whom I am also indebted for the use of books not accessible elsewhere in Bombay, and for revising the orthography of the proper names, as well as for information acknowledged elsewhere.

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Nijjot (i.e. harvest time) as an *inām* (gift) to the above mentioned, the best of grandees. It is therefore necessary that, considering the above named village as an *inām* to him, you shall not interfere in any way, in order that the people of neighbouring districts and places may come on pilgrimage to that place with undisturbed minds. In this matter, regarding it as a strict injunction you are not to swerve (therefrom). Written on the 29th day of the holy month of Muharram in the thirtieth[88] of our auspicious reign.

The handwriting of the humble servant Ali Nakhi.

The 4th of Safar, in the thirtieth year of the reign; Presented in the (*Huzur*) royal presence.

The 4th of Safar in the thirtieth year: A copy was taken in the Diwan's (financial minister's) office.

The 4th of Safar in the thirtieth year—received.[89]

The Gohil Rajpur Chiefs of Palitana are descended from Shaji, the youngest son of Sejek who led his tribe from Marwad into Gujarat in the beginning of the thirteenth century; in the seventeenth their possessions were pretty extensive, and, to the chief then ruling, Satidas entrusted the charge of the hill, on condition that he should preserve to the Sravakas the free exercise of their religious observances and the inviolate sanctity of their *tīrtha*, a condition said to have been long observed by his successors.

During the disturbances in the end of Shahjahan's reign, two confirmations of the former *sanad* appear to have been obtained: the first from Padshah Murad Bakhsh, dated 29th June 1658, peremptorily forbidding the exaction of any tax from the Sravaka pilgrims; the second, from his nephew, the son of Aurangzib dated 8th August of the same year, or within a week of Aurangzib's accession.[90] The following are versions of both these documents:

[88] As Shahjahan began his reign in A.H. 1037, or 9th February 1628 A.D. we ought either to read the thirteenth here, or else the date on the seal ought to be 1067 in place of 1049. If Muharram 1049 A.H. is meant, it fell 22nd May 1639; if 1067 A.H. then this date is equivalent to 7th November 1656. I incline to the latter.

[89] This translation, with some trifling corrections, is from the *Special Appeal to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty from the Sravak Community of Western India*, 1867. The Translator adds that, following the last four sentences, which are written on the back of the original, there is a part he could not decipher.

[90] Mill and Wilson, *Hist. Brit. India*, 5th ed. Vol. II. p. 274. Aurangzib's accession however, is sometimes dated from 24th Feb. 1658.

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(1)

Seal
of Padshah Murad Baksh,
1068

This high command is now issued, declaring that as the Paragana of Palitana, under the Sarkar of Sorath, a dependency of the Subah of Ahmedabad, and which Paragana is also called Satrunjaya, is by former *sanad* conferred on Satidas Javheri as an *inām* or gift, the said Satidas has presented a petition praying that in this manner a new high command should be given. This world-binding mandate is therefore now issued, declaring that we confirm to the said Satidas and to his descendants the *inām* or gift he held by former *sanad* and a royal patent, and it behoves the Diwans, Wazirs, and Mutsaddis, present and future, and the Jagiradars and Karuris of that district, to respect the said gift according to the above order, and not to molest or hinder him under pretence of expenses, taxes, etc; but they must act so that this order may continue and abide, knowing this order to be peremptory, no opposition shall be made.

Dated 29th Ramzan, first year of his reign.

(2)

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

GOD

[On the Seal] The victorious Muhammad Aurangzib Shah Bahadur, the son of Sahib Kiran Sani, 1068

Whereas at this time, the beginning of which is auspicious (and) the end of which will be happy, Satidas, the jeweller has represented to the noble, most holy, exalted (and) elevated Presence, through persons constituting the holy assembly of the Court, that whereas according to a *farmān* of His Majesty, the exalted, as dignified as Solomon, the protector of the office of the successors of (Muhammad), the shadow of God, dated the nineteenth of the holy month of Ramzan, in the year thirty-one, the district of Palitana, which is called Setrunji in the jurisdiction of the Sorath Sarkar, a dependency of the Subah of Ahmedabad, (and) the revenue of which is two lakhs of *dāms*, has been settled as a perpetual *inām* on the slave (the petitioner), and that he therefore hopes that a glorious edict may also be granted by our Court; therefore, in the same manner as before, we have granted the above mentioned district as a perpetual *inām*. It is, therefore, incumbent on the present and future

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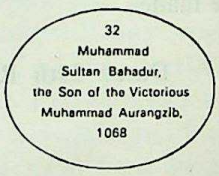
managers of the Subah and the above mentioned Sarkar, to exert themselves for the continual and permanent observance of this hallowed ordinance, (and) to permit the above mentioned district to remain in the possession of the above named person and of his descendants in lineal succession from generation to generation, and to him exempted from all demands and taxes, and all other dues, (and) not to demand from him in respect hereof a new *sanad* every year, (and) they shall not swerve from this order.

Written on the 9th of the month of Zil-kadah in the Hijra year 1068 (8th August, 1658 A.D.).

[On the back of the *farmān* :] A mandate of the Nawab, the possessor of holy titles, the fruit of the garden, a worthy successor, the fruit of the tree of greatness, a lamp of the noble family, a light of the great house, the pupil of the eye of grandeur and fortune, the pride of greatness and glory, of noble birth, the exalted, the praised one by the tongue of the slave and free, the famous (and) victorious prince Muhammad Sultan Bahadur.[91]



In the eighteenth century, Kathiawad was much infested by predatory bands of Kolis, Kathis, and Barwatias, and a pilgrimage to Palitana was then attended with no small danger. The Gaikawad of Baroda, also, extended his influence over most of the smaller states, and made them pay tribute or *cauth*, as the price of forbearing to ravage their territories. The Palitana Thakur or Chief, it is said, stipulated with the principal Sravakas, in 1750 for a moderate annual contribution, to grant them his protection for the Sanghas and the Hill. This continued till 1788, when, they, say the tax on the pilgrims was greatly increased. In 1808, when British influence was first extended over Kathiawad, the Palitana Chieftain was found to be incapable of managing his own affairs. He was at enmity with his own son, and deeply in debt to the Sravaka Saukars, whilst the estate was nearly ruined. Unable to pay his Arab and Mekran mercenaries, he assigned to them his *grāsa* of revenue from the Hill, and quartered on it these disorderly soldiers, whose habits and conduct were most revolting

[91] *Special Appeal*, ut. sup., which is unfortunately defaced by very numerous typographical errors. What follows of this section is partly derived from the same volume.

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to the Jainas. In 1820, Motichand Amichand, a wealthy Jaina of Bombay, Hemabhai Vakhatchand, the lineal descendent of Satidas Javheri, and others, petitioned the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, then Governor of Bombay, against such disorders, and this resulted, in 1821, in an arrangement made by Captain Barnewell, the Political Agent between Khandaji Undaji, the Chief, and Vakhatchand Khusalchand in the name of Seth Anandji Kalyanji,—the designation of the firm organised by the Sravakas to receive and control the fiscal arrangements relating to the temples at Palitana—by which the latter agreed to pay 4,500 rupess per annum to the former for the ten years in lieu of all claims, and with the power of renewal of the terms on the part of the Jainas. This arrangement was complicated in 1831 by the *ijārā* of the whole Taluka, including the tax on the Hill, being granted to Seth Vakhatchand at 42,001 rupees per annum. In 1840 Noganji Khandaji, then Chief, assigned the amount of the Hill impost due to himself to Hemabhai, the son of Vakhatchand, in liquidation of a debt due to him and another Vania. The lease of the Taluka expired in 1843, and in 1852 a hot dispute arose respecting the right of the Chief to increase the tax. Both parties appealed to the Bombay Government and in 1963, Major Anderson reported in favour of upholding Captain Barnewell's arrangement unless the Thakur should moderate his terms. Soon after this, however Major Keatinge decided that the Thakur might raise the tax to 10,000 rupees, and this was finally approved in 1866. The Sravakas, dissatisfied with the terms of this decision, appealed to the Home Government, but without success, and for the present neither party seems inclined to yield anything to the other.

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V

THE SATRUNJAYA MAHATMYA

Like other sects, the Jainas have their *tīrthas* or holy places which they visit for worship at stated periods, in vast pilgrim bands called Sanghas, numbering many thousands, from Gujarat, Marwad, Gangetic India, and elsewhere. They enumerate five great *tīrthas*: Satrunjaya, Samet Sikhar or Mount Parsvanatha in Bihar, Arbuda or Abu in Sirohi, Girnar in Saurashtra, and Chandragiri in the Himalayas. At these places we naturally expect the oldest Jaina remains, and "according to some Jaina authorities", says Dr. Wilson, "Jaina temples were first built in the year 882 Virabda, equivalent to A.D. 313".[92] At Girnar we have probably their oldest existing remains, but none of them approach to this antiquity, and few anywhere date earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century of our era.

Satrunjaya or Satrunji is a solitary mountain lying to the south of the town of Palitana and rising perhaps 2,000 thousand feet above the sea level. Its summit is covered with temples and from their extent and celebrity, they are perhaps second in interest to none elsewhere. Like other *tīrthas* it has its *māhātmya* or legend, and the *Satrunjaya Māhātmya* in glorification of the Hill as a place of pilgrimage, claims to be the oldest Jaina document we possess,—dating as far back as A.D. 420, according to some, and according to Weber, in A.D. 598.[93] It was composed by Dhanesvara at Valabhi, by command, he says, of Siladitya, king of Saurashtra. But the author would have us believe his authorities were of the remotest antiquity, for he begins by telling that at the request of Rsabhanatha, Pundarika, the leader of his gana (Ganadhipa) had long ago composed a *māhātmya* of Satrunjaya in 100,000 *padas*; and that Sudharma, the leader of Vira's gana, by his master's direction, made an abstract of it in 24,000 verses, from which Dhanesvara, the humiliator

[92] *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. III. pt. ii. p. 88. We ought here to adopt the Gujarat epoch—527 B.C. as the era of Vira, so that this becomes 355 A.D., for the *Tapa Jaina Pattavali* relates that Jaina temples were first built in the year 882 after Vira or 412 Sambat (i.e. 355 A.D.) during the spiritual government of the Acarya Manatunga Suri or Manadeva Suri. See Col. Miles, *Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. III. p. 347. Manadeva Suri is the 19th and Manatunga Suri the 20th in the list appended to Dr. Wilson's MS. of the *Kalpa Sutra*; in Dr. Stevenson's list, the 19th is only styled Mana.—*Kalpa Sutra*, p. 102.

[93] Of course this date must depend on that of Mahavira's death, to which it professes to be 947 years subsequent, or 477 after the era of Vikrama.

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of the Buddhists, composed the present work.[94] It is a long panegyric in Sanskrit verse, extending to about 8,700 lines, put into the mouth of Mahavira, the last Tirthankara, who, on his visiting Satrunjaya, is requested by Indra to relate the legend of the mountain sacred to Adinatha. Accordingly he proceeds not only to tell the strictly Jaina legends of the hill, but interweaves with them long episodes of Brahamanic mythology, such as the history of Rama, the war of the Kurus and Pandus, and stories of Krsna, altering them just as he pleases.

According to the *Māhātmya*, the hill boasts no less than a hundred and eight names, and as many distinct *śikharas* or peaks, uniting it with the sister *tīrthas* of Abu and Girnar,—many of them very low, if not quite invisible. Of its names, the following is a selection:

Srī Satrunjaya-tīrthanāmāni,—the etymology of which is thus given in the *Māhātmya*: Formerly there lived in Candrapura a cruel king named Kandu. Aroused by a voice from heaven, he went into the forest, where overcome by the cow Surabhi, he was bound by a Yaksa, and then left exposed in a cave. There he came to know of his guilt. His gotradevi or family goddess Ambika appeared to him and advised him to go on pilgrimage to Satrunjaya; and on the way he met a Mahamuni, who taught him fully. Through ascending the hill he obtained the victory (*jaya*) over his enemy (*śatru*) sin.[95]

Vimaladri, Height of purification;
Pundarika-parvata, or Hill of Pundarika, the principal disciple of Rsabhanatha;
Siddhiksetra, Siddhadri and Siddhabhubhrt, Hill of the Holy land;
Sura Saila, Rock of the gods;
Punyarsi, bestower of virtue;
Muktigeha, place of beatitude;
Mahatirtha, the great place of pilgrimage;
Sarva Kamada, fulfiller of all desires;

[94] Weber, *Satr. Mahat.* p. 15.

[95] Weber, *uber das Satr. Mahat.*, p. 17. Tod, professing to have extracted it from the *Mahatmya* also, gives the following legend:
"In distant ages Sukha Raja ruled in Palitana. By the aid of magic his younger brother assumed his appearance and took possession of the royal cushion. The dispossessed prince wandered about the forests, and during twelve years, daily poured fresh water from the stream on the image of Siddhanatha, who, pleased with his devotion, gave him victory (*jaya*) over his foe (*satru*), and in gratitude, he enshrined the god upon the mount, hence called Satrunjaya. The hill must therefore have been originally dedicated to Siva, one of whose chief epithets is Siddhanatha, as lord of the ascetics, a title never given I believe, to Adinatha, the first of the Jinas."—*Travels in Western India*, pp. 277-278.

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Prithvipitha, the crown of the earth; and Patalamala, having its foundation in the lower regions.[96]

"Whatever purity", says the *Māhātmya*, "may be acquired by prayers, penances, vows, charity, and study, in other artificial *tīrthas*, cities, groves, hills, etc., tenfold more is acquired in Jaina *tīrthas*, a hundredfold more at the *caityas* of the Jambu tree, a thousand-fold more at the everlasting Dhataki tree, at the lovely *caitya* of Puskaradvipa, at the mountain Anjana. Yet ten-fold more still is obtained at the Nandisvara, Kundaladri, Manusottaraparvata.[97] In proportion, ten thousand times more at the Vaibhara,[98] Sametadri, Vaitadhya, Meru, Raivata[99] and Astapada.[100] Infinitely more, however, is obtained by the mere sight of Satrunjaya. Lastly, it cannot be told how much is acquired by devoting oneself to the worship of it."[101] Elsewhere the author exclaims, "I have heard, O ye gods, from the mouth of Srimat Simandhara Svami, when once I went to the Ksetra Mahavideha: Any, and ever so great a sinner, by worshipping Sri Satrunjaya is absolved from sin and becomes a partaker of perfection."

Many of the legends have no connection whatever with the hill. We give one as a specimen[102]: About the time of Vikrama or Vikramaditya, there lived at Kampilyapura a pious merchant named Bhavada. Having hospitably entertained two holy men who visited his house, he became the possessor of a mare of wonderful qualities. He then acquired great wealth by the breeding of horses, and having made a present of unicoloured horses to Vikrama, he received in return the gift of Madhumati (Mohwa) and twelve other towns in Saurashtra. His wife Bhavala also bore him a son whom he called Javada. In commemoration of the birth he erected a temple to Mahavira in a town he had built and named Javada. When the lad had

96 To these the *Mahatmya* adds Mahabala, Sriyahpada, Parvatendra, Subhadra, Drdhasakti, Akarmaka, Sasvata, Puspadanta, Mahapadma, Prabhapada, Kailasa, and Ksitimandanamandana (I, 331-334).

97 Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II. p. 222; *Asiat Res.*, Vol. IX. p. 320 ; Wilson, *Visnu Purana*, p. 200.

98 One of the hills surrounding Rajagrha, the ancient capital of Magadha or S. Bihar. On the top of it and other neighbouring hills there are Jaina temples, and the cave occupied by the great Buddha is still to be seen in one of the hills. —Dr. Bhau Daji.

99 Mount Girnar.

100 Colebrooke, *Essays*, Vol. II. p. 208; *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. IX. p. 305. The same as Kailasa, Hemacandra, *Abhidhana Cintamani*, 1028

101 *Satrunjaya Mahat.*, I. 341-346; Weber, pp. 22 and 60-61.

102 This legend is given by Forbes in his *Ras Mala*, pp. 9-11, but it is here modified in accordance with the *Mahatmya*, XIV. 124-282.

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reached maturity, Bhavada sent his wife's brother to Kampilya to find a spouse for him. On his journey he passed one night at Ghatagrama, at the foot of Satrunjaya, and there saw Sucila, the daughter of Sura, a merchant of good family, and asked her for his nephew. The maiden replied that she would accept Javada on condition that he should answer four questions she would ask concerning the definitions of the four *puruṣārthas* or human objects of attainment.[103] These were successfully replied to, and the marriage celebrated. After Bhavada's death, Javada ruled the city with mythic wisdom. Now, "on account of the power of the Dusama age", an army of Mudgalas[104] swept over the land like a tide of the sea violently driven up. The Mudgalas took with them "grain, riches, children, women, men of middling, low, and high condition from Saurashtra, Kachha, Lata, etc." Then permitting the various castes to resume their occupations, the Mudgalas distributed great wealth, whence Javada—also among the captives—acquired vast riches by trading. He gathered round him his sect in one place "as if it had been in an Arya country" and erected a *caitya* to Mahavira. Holy men (Munis) "wandering in Aryan and non-Aryan countries" visiting it, were well received. Hearing from them that "during the *pañcama ārā*, Javada is the founder of *tīrthas*", he inquired whether by this he himself or another Javada was meant. He was told in reply that, "the guardians of Pundarika, in course of time, had become malicious, living upon intoxicating beverages and flesh", that they had drawn around the Pundarikadri or Satrunjaya a circle of fifty *yojanas*, and whoever overstepped it will fell in the hands of the wicked Kaparda Yaksa. Hence the Sri Yugadijinesvara (Rsabha Deva) could not be worshipped. "But now the time had arrived to effect its restoration, and he was destined to do it". They accordingly advised him to endeavour through the adoration of Cakresvari,[105] to find the image of the first Jina, founded by Bahubali. After a month's penance she appeared to him directing him to go to the town of Taksasila[106]

[103] These are *dharma, artha, kama and moksa.*

[104] In the Gujarati translation 'Mugals'.—Forbes, *Ras Mala*, Vol. I. p. 10.

[105] This is the Sasanadevi of the first Jina. It is also the name of one of the sixteen Vidyadevis. Hemacandra, 239,ed. Boehtlingk & Rieu, p. 39 ; Weber u. *Satr. Mah.*, p. 43,note.

[106] The Taxila of the Alexandrian historians; it is mentioned in the *Puranas*, and is famous in Buddhist legends. It was situated at the modern Hasanabad or Hasanabadal, near Manikyala. "In this fortunate place", says Hiuen Thsang, "while the Tathagata lived as a Bodhisatva, he was king of a great realm, under the name of Candraprabha." Conf. Strabo, XV. p. 698; Wilson *Visnu Purana, pp.* 385, 386; Wilford, *Asiat Res.*, Vol. IX. P. 51. Remusat, *Foe-Koue-ki*, p. 74; Laidlay, *Pilgrimage of Fa-Hien*, p.73; S. Julien, *Voy. des Peler. Buoddh*, tom. I. pp. 89, 262; tom. II. pp. 151-155; tom. III. pp. 317-319; Court, *Jour. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, Vol. V. p. 468. Col. Tod, apparently on the authority of this legend, calls Javada "a merchant of Kashmir".—*Travels, p.* 281.

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and make arrangements with the prince Jagamalla; there he would find the image of the Arhanta before the *dharma-cakra*; and by her aid he would be the establisher of a great *tīrtha* as a mark of the sudharmans or orthodox believers. By bribes Javada succeeded in obtaining the prince's favour so far as to secure permission to carry away the images of Rsabhasvami and of Pundarika. With these he arrived in Saurashtra near his city of Madhumati. Before this he had despatched ships laden with goods to Mahacina, Cina, and Bhota, which were driven to Suvarnadvipa,[107] by adverse winds but now, the news comes that they had just returned freighted with gold. The news of this reached Javada just as another messenger informed him of the arrival of Sri Vajra Svami.[108] Without affecting to notice the former, he hastened to salute the latter; and, while yet absorbed in the contemplation of Vajra, a god descended from heaven, who bowing himself before Vajra said: "Lord, formerly I was the son of Sukarman, the master of Tirthamanupura, named Kapardin, who abandoned himself to the use of intoxicating drink. Hear how I was saved by you, when about to be cast into the abyss by my sins. Once I was sitting on a lovely seat in a veranda, surrounded by women, sipping Kadambari wine and while raising the cup to my mouth I was thinking of thy name, when a snake, writhing in the talons of a bird in the air, dropped poison unperceived into the cup.[109] I drank and the poison deprived me of my senses, nevertheless remembering the high formula (or *mantra*) I still perceived you, and blaming my vice more and more and thinking of you, and trying to pronounce the formula I expired, and was born again among the Yaksas. I am now called Kapardi-Yaksa,[110] and am followed by 100,000 Yaksas and able to do anything. Lord tell me what I am to do." Then Vajra Svami told him of the height of Satrunjaya,[111] and encouraging Javada to make a pilgrimage thither to erect *tīrthas*, promised, with the Yaksa, to aid him; at the same time, by a glance, he cured Jayamati, the wife of Javada the Sanghesa,[112] who had been made sick by the evil spirits of Siddhabhubhrt. They ascended the Sailendra or Satrunjaya with the image of Bhagavanta, and found the mountain defiled with blood, bones, etc, the temples decayed, full of dust, and at the mercy of the winds. During the night the demons brought down the car with the image from the hill. The next day Javada's

107 Probably Burma, in Pali Suvannabhumi.

108 Vajra Svami is the name of the last of the seven Dasapurvis (Hemacandra 34) who flourished about 57 A.D.

109 Compare Stevenson's *Kalpa Sutra*, p. 12.

110 Forbes calls him Kawad Yaksh, and the same as the one mentioned a little before; Weber thinks him a different personage.

111 Siddhadri.

112 Gujarati Sanghvi, the leader of a Sangha or band of pilgrims.

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people carried it up again, but in the ensuing night it was again brought down, and so on for twenty-one nights. Vajra Svami then arranged that the Yaksa and his followers, fortifying themselves by the Vajra *mantra*, should keep watch in the air, while Javada and his wife praying to Adijina and keeping in mind the five *parameṣṭhi* should go to bed under the car, and Vajra remain beside the image with the whole Sangha, children, and women, till the morning, thinking of Adijina. Next day they carried the image to the temple, and carefully purified the sanctuary. The former Kapardi with a few Asuras concealed themselves in the old image, which Javada removed. The Asuras being fixed and entranced by the *mantras* of Vajra Svami, could not rush out, but they raised so terrific a noise that the earth shook, trees and temples fell and the mountain itself was split in two,—a Southern and Northern summit,—and all the people except Vajra, Javada, and Jayamati, lost their senses. Vajra and the Yaksa then so frightened the former Kapardi that he escaped to the shore of the sea where he assumed another name in Candraprabhasaksetra.[113]

Vajra now organised the service of the new temple and Javada and his wife mounted to its summit to erect the banner. They then praised their good fortune in being successful in the arduous undertaking, and in having Vajra Svami as an instructor, by whose aid they had had the assistance of Kapardi. But owing to their very advanced age both husband and wife were so overcome with joy at the event that their hearts broke. The Vyantara divinities took up the bodies and cast them into the sea of milk while Cakresvari informed their son Jajanaga, who was waiting with the Sangha, of the death of his parents. Jajanaga followed his father's example, worshipping the Jinas on Mount Raivata (Girnar) and elsewhere and erecting *caityas*. "The death of Javada," adds the *Māhātmya*, "took place at the end of the 108th year after Vikramaditya",[114]—that is about A.D. 52.

When some time had passed after this, "the Bauddhas, tutoring the princes by their wisdom and difficult to be conquered by opponents", obtained the ascendancy, put all other systems aside, introduced their

[113] This seems to piont to Somanatha or Prabhasa Pattana, where, as is well-known, Siva was worshiped as Somesvara—'Lord of the Moon'. The *Mahatmya* or legend of the Somanatha temple, said to be a part of the *Skanda Purana*, is entitled' Prabhasa Ksetra Mahatmya'. *See Jour. Bom. Br. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. II, p. 14. As Weber suggests, this legend seems to point to a struggle between Saivism and Jainism.

[114] *Satr. Mahat.*, XIV, 280. A Gujarati MS. Account of the ages and founders of the different temples, obtained at Palitana, calls this the thirteenth *uddhara* or restoration of the temple, executed by Javadasa in Samvat 1018, i.e., A.D. 961, quite as probable a date as that of the *Mahatmya*.

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own doctrines, and took possession of or destroyed Satrunjaya and all other *tīrthas*.

"Then Dhanesvara Suri, the Moon of the Ocean of the Lunar race, the wise Teacher, inspired by all the gods, made his appearance, instructed Siladitya, the prince of Valabhi in the purifying doctrines of the Jinas, prevailed on him to expel the Bauddhas from the country, and to erect many *caityas* as the various *tīrthas*. Siladitya, he who brought the law to a new bloom, lived 477 years after Vikrama."[115] This gives the date of Siladitya in A.D. 420.

The poet ought to have made Mahavira stop his prophecy here at his own times; but—whether added by a later hand, or otherwise to be accounted for,—Vira goes on to say that, "afterwards Kumarapala, Bahada, and Vastupala[116] will be the first in battle and mighty in this system of doctrine. Then the princes will be Mlecchas, their ministers covetous, the people will forsake their customs, and try to cheat each other."

When 1914 years have elapsed from the death of Vira there will be born at Pataliputra a Mleccha called Kalki, son of Caturvaktra and Rudra. Both the temples of Musali (Balarama) and Krsna at Mathura will fall like an old tree torn up by a storm. The seven plagues: fear, loss of smell and taste, dearth, discord between princes, and other disorders will arise. At the end of thirty-six years Kalki will become king and will dig up the golden *stūpas* of king Nanda; he will also dig up much treasure in the town of Pataliputra, and in doing so a stone cow (Lagnadevi) will be found, and prove such a source of torment to holy men (Munis) that many of them will leave the city. Kalki will also persecute the Jainas. Then seventeen days rain will raise a great flood and destroy much of the city, but the king will cause it to be rebuilt and prosperity will prevail for fifty years. Again Kalki will fall upon the Jainas, and

[115] *Satr. Mahat.*, XIV. 283-286.

[116] The only names in any way resembling these that I have met with are those of Kumarapala the Calukya prince of Anahilawada Pattana (A.D. 1142-1173,) the patron of the Jaina Monk Hemacandra; Bahada Mehta, the minister of Kumarapala, mentioned by Col. Tod (*Travels*, p. 281) as the minister of Siddha Raja, and the next great restorer of the Satrunjaya temples after Javada, and who built temples there in 1154; and Vastupala mentioned in the Abu inscriptions as a zealous Jaina (A.D. 1231-1237).—*Asiat. Resear.*, XVI. 303-319. In the Girnar inscriptions translated by Wathen, we read,—"Sri Tejapala was succeeded by his elder brother's son, Vastupala;" and again—"In Samvat 1234 (A.D. 1177) Paus *vadi* 6th, Thursday, Sah Vastupala Tejapala caused to be built on Girnar a vast temple, in which was placed Sri Mallinatha. At this period Kumarapala Raja reigned at Pattana, as a frontal ornament amongst princess."

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Pratipada, the sage with many other believers will have to undergo great sufferings. Sakra himself, insecure on his throne, will assume the form of a Vipra (Brahmana) to convert Kalki, but, as he will not yield, he will be killed by Sakra at the end of the eighty-sixth year of his life. His son and successor Datta, having learned the Jaina doctrine from Sakra himself, will raise many Arhat-*caityas*, besides performing a pilgrimage to Satrunjaya, and he will always follow the directions of his Guru and be careful to do harm to no one.

Thus, the Jaina religion will continue till the end of the *pancama ārā*. Then later in the Duhsama age, people will entirely abandon *dharma* (the law), their lives will be short, they will be consumed by diseases, and oppressed with taxes; the kings will be avaricious, dishonest, and cowardly; the women immoral; and the villages like cemeteries. The people will become more and more depraved, and will shamelessly and pitilessly insult their teachers and the gods. The last good people in Bharatavarsa will be the Acarya Duhprasaha, the Sadhvi (female teacher) Phalgusri, the pious Sravaka Nagila, the Sravika Satyasri, the king Vimalavahana, and the minister Sumukha. By the direction of Duhprasaha, the king Vimalavahana will go on pilgrimage to the Vimaladri-vihara (Satrunjaya). The people will be only two hands high, and will live only twenty years; the clouds will only occasionally do their duty, but mostly not at all.

Thus, the Duhsama will last for 21,000 years. The *ekanta* Duhsama will last as long, when men will shamelessly dwell in caves and eat fish. Satrunjaya will then be only seven hands high, and will regain its former height only in the *Utsarpini* period.[117]

Thus much for the legend.

[117] *Satr. Mahat.*, XIV. 312-324; Weber, pp. 47, 8.

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VI

SATRUNJAYA HILL

From Palitana to the foot of the hill there is a very straight and level stretch of broad clean road, lined on either side with Banian or Bar trees, and other species of the ficus tribe. It has at intervals *kuṇḍ* and *bāolis*, reservoirs and wells, of pure water, excavated by Jaina votaries. At the foot of the hill, the ascent begins with a wide flight of steps, guarded on either side by a statue of an elephant. At this place there are many little canopies or cells, a foot and half to three feet square, open only in front, and each having in its floor a marble slab carved with the representation, in *bas relief*, of the soles of two feet (*caraṇa*)—very flat ones—and generally with the toes all of one length. A little behind where the ball of the great toe ought to be, there is a diamond-shaped mark, divided into four smaller figures by two cross lines, from the end of one of which a waved line is drawn to the front of the foot. Round the edges of the slab there is usually an inscription in Devanagari characters. These cells are numerous all the way up the hill, and a large group of them is found on the south-west corner of it behind the temple of Adisvara Bhagavan: these are the temples erected by poorer Sravakas or Jainas, who, unable to afford the expenses of a complete temple, with its hall and sanctuary enshrining a marble *mūrti* or image, manifest their devotion to their creed by erecting these miniature temples over the *caraṇa* of their Jinas or Arhats.

"A little way up the hill is a *bisāṅo* or halting place for the pilgrims, rendered sacred by the *pādukā* or footsteps of Bharata, the eldest son of Adinatha. Still a little farther, we reach a fountain called Iccha, of excellent water, alike sanctified by the *pādukā* of Neminatha. About four hundred yards beyond is a second resting place, with a fountain excavated by command of Kumarapala, King of Anahilawada, close to which is a shrine dedicated to Hinglaj Mata, the Hindu Hecate. Thence, and nearly half-way up the hill, is a third *bisāṅo*, of greater space than any in the ascent, and termed, after its reservoir, the Silla *kuṇḍ*, having a small garden and a series of steps to increase the fall of a miniature cascade. This spot is deemed especially holly."

Still farther up we reach "the *sthān* of the six sons of Devaki (the mother of Krsna), slain by Kansa,...which fate Krsna only escaped by flight to Dvaraka. The temple is hypaethral, consisting simply of

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columns and entablature, and the representations of the six murdered infants are in black marble."[118]

The hill is in many places excessively steep, and,except the *doli*, a seat 18 inches square, slung from two poles and carried by four *coolies*, no mode of conveyance would be even tolerably comfortable either for ascent or descent. The winding path is paved with rough stones all the way up,only interrupted here and there by regular flights of steps. At frequent intervals also are the rest-houses already mentioned, more pretty at a distance than convenient for actual use, but still deserving of attention.

High up, when near the top, we come to a small temple of Hanuman, the image of course bedaubed with red lead in ultra-barbaric style; at this point the path bifurcates : to the right leading to the northern peak, and to the left to the valley between, and through it, to the southern summit. Ascending by the first of these, we enter through a narrow door into an outer enclosure, at the left corner of which under a tree, is the shrine or *dargāh* of Hengar, a Musalman Pir; so Hindu and Muslim alike contend for the representation of their creeds on this sacred hill of the Jainas. This Hengar or Angarsa Pir, they say, when living, "could control the elments", but he was foolish enough to try his mace on Adinatha, which unable to hurt him struck the Pir dead. His ghost, however, was malicious enough to annoy the *pujārīs* at their prayers, and in a solemn council they summoned him to state his wishes. "Lay my bones on that corner of the hill."—said the ghost, and the matter was settled.

Our endeavours to discover who this saint was, and when he flourished, were equally fruitless with those of Colonel Tod;there seems to be no information respecting him "beyond the tradition that it was in the time of Ghori Belam, nephew of the king of Delhi, who resided in Palitana, and by whom the mosques and Idgahs, both inside and outside, were erected". "At present, however", he adds, "the darvesh attendants on the tomb of their saint have found it requisite to conform to the rules of the place, and never touch food on the rock, nor partake of animal food below."[119]

The view that presents itself from this point may well arrest the attention. It is magnificent in extent; a splendid setting for the unique

[118] Tod's *Travels in Western India* (in 1822), pp. 281, 282, 293; though perhaps not perfectly correct in details, these extracts give a good general idea, and I had no guide on the ascent to supply fuller information.

[119] *Ibid.*, pp. 292, 293.

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picture—this work of human toil we have reached. Just under the brow of the hill to the north, surrounded by clumps of trees, is the town of Palitana, and in all directions the eye wanders over a vast plain, with gentle undulations here and there, and declining away to the east and south-east; generally it is cultivated, though not nearly to the extent it admits of. At intervals the eye falls on groups of umbrageous trees, from beside which peep out the temples and huts of many a village. To the east, the prospect extends to the Gulf of Khambhat about Ghogo and Bhavnagar; to the north it is bounded by the granite range of Sihor and the Chamardi peak: to the north-west and west the plain extends as far as the eye can reach, except where broken in the far distance due west by the summits of Mount Girnar—revered alike by Hindu, Buddhist, and Jaina—the latter of whom claim it as sacred to Neminatha, their twenty-second Tirthankara, whom they represent as having after seven hundred years austerities, become fit to leave this and all worlds on yonder six peaked mountain, at some date in the far past that would astonish even a geologist. From west to east, like a silver ribbon, across the foreground to the south, winds the Satrunjaya[120] river, which the eye follows until it is lost between the Talaja and Khokara hills in the south-west.

The nearer scene on the hill itself is thus described by the author of the *Rās Mālā*: "Street after street, and square after square", he says, "extend these shrines of the Jaina faith, with their stately enclosurers, half palace, half fortress, raised in marble magnificence upon the lonely and majestic mountain, and like the mansions of another world, far removed in upper air from the ordinary tread of mortals. In the dark recesses of each temple, one image or more of Adinatha, of Ajita, or of some other Tirthankaras, is seated, whose alabaster features, wearing an expression of listless repose, are rendered dimly visible by the faint light shed from silver lamps; incense perfumes the air, and bare-footted, with noiseless tread, upon the polished floors, the female votaries, glittering in scarlet and gold, move round and round in circles, chanting forth their monotonous, but not unmelodious, hymns. Satrunjaya indeed might fitly represent one of the fancied hills of eastern romance, the inhabitants of which have been instantaneously changed into marble, but which fairy hands are ever employed upon, burning perfumes, and keeping all clean and brilliant, while fairy voices haunt the air in these voluminous praises of the Devas."[121]

120 Dr. Wilson thinks this is the river mentioned by Ptolemy under the designation of Codrana or Sodrana. *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. III. pt. ii. pp. 88,89; Ptol. *Geog.*, lib. vii

121 Forbes, *Ras Mala*, Vol. I. pp. 7,8.

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But apart from the poetical exaggeration of this, it is truly a wonderful, unique place, a city of temples,—for, except a few tanks, there is nothing else within the gates. Through court beyond court the visitor proceeds over smooth pavements of grey *cunām*, visiting temple after temple—most of them built of stone quarried near Gopnath, but a few of marble; all elaborately sculptured, and some of striking proportions. And, as he passes along, the glassy-eyed images of pure white marble, seem to peer out at him from hundreds of cloister cells. Such a place is surely without a match in the world: and there is a cleanliness withal about every square and passage, porch and hall, that is itself no mean source of pleasure. The silence too, except at festival seasons, is striking; now and then in the mornings you hear a bell for a few seconds, or the beating of a drum for as short a time, and on holidays, chants from the larger temples meet your ear, but generally during the after part of the day the only sounds are those of vast flocks of pigeons that rush about spasmodically from the roof of one temple to that of another. Parroquets and squirrels, doves and ringdoves, abound, and peacocks are occasionally met with on the outer walls.

Independently of the more general features of the scene,—"the fashionable shrine, on which at the present day the greatest amount of wealth is lavished",—it must command the special interest of the student of architecture, for, as our greatest authority on the history of this science remarks, "It is now being covered with new temples and shrines which rival the old buildings not only in splendour, but in the beauty and delicacy of their details, and altogether form one of the most remarkable groups to be found anywhere—the more remarkable, if we consider that the bulk of them were erected within the limits of the present century. To the philosophical student of architecture it is one of the most interesting spots on the face of the globe, inasmuch as he can see there the various processes by which cathedrals were produced in the Middle Ages, carried on a larger scale than anywhere else, and in a more natural manner. It is by watching the methods still followed in designing buildings in that remote locality that we become aware how it is that the uncultivated Hindu can rise in architecture to a degree of originality and perfection which has not been attained in Europe since the Middle Ages."[122]

The top of the hill consists of two ridges, running nearly east and west, and each about three hundred and eighty yards in length. The southern ridge is higher at the western end than the northern one, but it, in turn, is higher at the eastern extremity. Both ridges and the buildings that fill the valley between are surrounded by battlemented walls fitted

[122] Fergusson, *History of Architecture* (ed. 1867), Vol. II. pp. 630-632.

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for defence. The buildings on both ridges, again are divided into separate enclosures called *tuks*, generally containing one principal temple, with varying numbers of smaller ones. Each of these enclosures is protected by strong gates and walls, and all gates are carefully closed at sundown. The *tuks* vary greatly in size, the largest of the ten covering nearly the whole of the southern summit, while one of those on the northern ridge contains only two temples. The two largest *tuks*, however, are subdivided by walls with gates.

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VII

VIEWS OF THE TUKS

Plates 1 to 4 : General Views

From various points on both summits very picturesque views of large groups of the temples are presented. Others will be noticed in the course of this description; but for the better understanding of the relative arrangement of the various enclosures, four of these may be here particularised:

1. The view from the wall of the pathway on the south-east of the northern ridge, commands the whole of the southern summit and the buildings in the valley. On the crest of the south hill rises the spire of the great temple, that of Adisvara Bhagavan, the most sacred spot on this sacred mount. To the east of it are seen some of the loftier spires of temples within the same enclosure, and among them the canopy, over the temple of Pundarika, above the gate leading to the great temple. A little nearer, the spectator may mark the temple built by Manet Nayamalji of Jodhpur in 1629, with its pillared porches all round, and a little to the west of it, the large dome and spire of the Digambara temple. In the outer enclosure there are many smaller temples, and to the left of the tree beside the Vaghano pole or Tiger gate, by which it is entered, stands the temple of Hirachand Raykaran of Daman, built in 1803. Nearer is the Sugala pole or gate leading into the small square lying just outside the Tiger gate, and containing a tank called the Isvarakund and a small building of two stories on its eastern wall, behind which, on a still lower level, there are some office houses. From the Sugala pole, a series of steps leads down to the area in front of the Motisah enclosure, —a *tuk* of which the numerous spires and roofs form a picture by themselves. Behind it, to the right, the higher walls of the *tuk* and the upper position of the Balabhai temple meet the eye. In front of the Motisah, on the nearer side, are also two pretty temples, under a tree to the east of which is hidden the small gate called Ram pole by which the enclosure is entered from outside. Lastly, away in the valley, in the distance to the left, the Satrunjaya river is seen meandering from west to east with low hills beyond it.

2. The view looking northwards from the roof of the small building to the east of the Sugala pole, mentioned above, presents the Motisah in

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the foreground, with the Balabhai behind it, to the left. The principal temple on the northern summit is the Caumukh. In front of the enclosure in which it stands is the Chipavasi *tuk* containing no temple of note; west from it is the *tuk* of Hemabhai Vakhatchand, the low domes of the temple appearing over the high wall, which is pierced with three windows and flanked with round bastions. Behind it is the *tuk* of Sakarchand Premchand, and facing it from the west, is another *tuk* of Hemabhai Vakhatchand. Again, to the south-west of this last, and at the extremity of the ridge, is the *tuk* of Modi Premchand Lalaji ; and, built against the face of the rock, on the slope between this and the Balabhai, facing the spectator, stands the temple, locally known as Bhima Padam, with a domed porch in front, and a plain square dome-covered temple behind.

3. The view due west repeats part of that just described and brings in the corner of the Vimalavasi *tuk* on the southern summit, a little to the right of the Vaghano pole.

4. From above the covered tank on the south side of the eastern section of the Vimalavasi *tuk*, the spectator has the temple of Hirachand Raykaran on his extreme right, with part of the Bhulaoni and the *dargah* of Angarsa Pir on the northern summit, to the west of it the gateway into the *tuk*, then the almost pure white temple of Narsi Kesavji Nayak, and still farther to the left, the lofty Caumukh, whilst the view to the north-west is cut off by the temples in the immediate neighbourhood.

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VIII

THE TEMPLES OF THE KHARATARAVASI TUK

Plate 5 : *Temple of Kesavji Nayak*

Returning to the entrance on north-east, and passing to the right, by a second small door or gate we enter the Kharataravasi *tuk*, and immediately to the right is the temple of Narsi Kesavji Nayak—the most recent on the hill, having been built in 1862, of considerable size, and very white,—for the lime is polished till it acquires a surface as smooth as marble. This temple is of two stories and of the same general plan as most of the others to be described. The principal entrance is to the east, and it has porches on the north and south sides. The roof is formed of lines of globes covering each face, with animal figures along the ridges. It is dedicated to Abhinandananatha, the fourth Tirthankara, and contains about fifty images.

As we proceed westwards, towards the inner gate, we pass six temples on the right, or north side, of the path, and five on the south. There is little to call special attention to any of these small temples. The first on the north side is dedicated to Marudevi Mata, the mother of Rsabhanatha, who like Mary among the Romanists, receives a share in the honours of her son. It faces the west, or the great Caumukh temple of Rsabhanatha, and contains only a statue of Marudevi on a marble elephant. Next to this is a temple facing the east. It was built by Narsinath of Bombay in 1848, and is dedicated to Padmaprabha, the sixth Tirthankara of whom and others there are twenty-three images of marble and seven of metal in the *gambhārā* or shrine, and in the hall or *maṇḍapa* there are two others, besides two of Yaksas and three of Seths and Sethanis. The other temples on this side are—the temple of Kadva, and three others built by Jainas from Mukhsudabad between 1831 and 1837.

Of those on the left or south side, one was built by Sah Kamalsi Sonavala Bhanasali in 1618, but goes by the name of the temple of Samprati Raja;[123] other three were built between 1828 and 1831 and the fifth,

[123] This prince is said to have reigned at Ujjayini about the end of the third Century B.C. and is regarded by the Jainas as one of their greatest patrons. His preceptor was Arya Suhasti the second of the Dasapurvis who flourished about 260 B.C. Samprati is called the son of Kunala the blind, and the grandson of Asoka who reigned at Pataliputra (B.C. 263-227). Kunala may possibly be the 'Kulata' of Wilford and the Suyasas of the *Puranas*.

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called the temple of Velabai, is of the sort known as Caumukh,—that is, 'four-faced', the shrines always containing four images of the Tirthankara, seated back to back, on a square pedestal or throne, so as to face the four cardinal points. This temple dates from A.D. 1734, and contains in all sixty-four images, and eight *caraṇa* or *pādukā*, pairs of feet.

We have now reached the gate of Pundarika, at both ends of which two elephants are constructed in plaster of the wall. This gate leads into the inner enclosure of the Kharataravasi *tuk*, sometimes called the *cauk* or square of Sava Somji, a wealthy Sravaka of Ahmedabad, of the Kharatara gachha, who repaired or rebuilt the shrines and surrounded them with a wall in 1618, and whose munificence tradition has been careful not to diminish. So enormous was the cost we are told, that the sum of eighty four thousand rupees were expended in cordage alone to bring up the materials, and a sum not greatly less to transport from the marble quarries of Makhrana in Marwad, the single block from which the principal image in the great temple was cut, while, according to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, the total amount he expended on the works he executed here was forty-eight laks of rupees.

The gate of Pundarika is the proper entrance to the sacred enclosures of Adisvara, and we meet with it the entrance to other squares. Over this gate is the shrine dedicated to Pundarika, the leader or Ganadhara of Adinatha. It was erected in 1618 by Surjinath of Ahmedabad and consists of three rooms, containing fifty-three images of Pundarika, etc., and a hundred and thirty pairs of feet.

Plates 6 to 12 : The Caumukh Temple

The principal temple on this *tuk* is known as the Caumukh. It is a fine pile, and being one of the largest and most complete, it may be described with some detail, as a type of most of the larger temples here.

The original is said to date back to king Vikrama, but it was rebuilt in its present form by Sava Somji in A.D. 1618, for in the inscribed plate we read :

Samvat 1675, in the time of Sultan Nur-ud-din Jahangir, Sowai Vijaya Raja and the Princes Sultan Khoshru and Khuram, on Saturday, Baisakh Suddh 13th, Devaraja and his family, of which were Somji and his wife Rajaldevi, executed the temple of the four-faced Adinatha, etc.

It stands on a platform raised fully two feet above the level of the court, and 57 feet wide by about 67 in feet length, but the front of the

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building extends some distance beyond the end of this.[124] The body of the temple consists of two square apartments with a square porch or *maṇḍapa* to the east, from which a few steps ascend to the door of the *antarāla* or hall, 31 feet 2 inches square inside, with a vaulted roof rising from twelve pillars, each 16 inches square. These pillars are so arranged that, omitting those at the corners, the remaining eight form a regular octagon, thus providing for the roofing of the dome in the usual Indian style,[125] and, as in the temple of Vimala Sah at Mount Abu, the circular courses of the dome rest immediately on the architrave of the octagon. Behind each column, a pilaster projects 8 inches from the wall leaving an aisle 2 feet 8 inches wide all round. Besides the principal entrance on the east, this hall has a door on each side opening out into a porch upon the platform, and at the back it has a fourth door, leading into the shrine or *garbha gṛha*—the *gambhārā*, as the Jainas call it, 23 feet square with four columns at the corners of the marble throne (*sinhāsana*) of the image. Corresponding to these are eight pilasters against the walls; and it deserves mention that the distance between the columns in the shrine corresponds with that between the central pairs in the hall, whilst the pilasters are in a line with the side row of columns in the hall, and again the pillars of the three porches correspond to the central pillars inside. Over the shrine rises the tower or *vimāna* to a height of 96 feet from the level of the pavement. The shrine in Hindu temples is always dark and entered only by the single small door in front; Jaina temples, on the contrary, have very frequently several entrances to the shrine. In this instance, as in that of most of the larger Caumukh temples, besides the door from the *antarāla*, three other large doors open out into porticoes on the platform—a veranda being carried round this part of the building from one door to another.

The shrine contains a *sinhāsana* or pedestal for the image, in this temple; it is of the purest white marble, fully two feet high and twelve feet square. Each face has a centre panel, elaborately carved, and three of less breadth on each side, the nearer the centre always a little in advance of that outside it.

On the throne sit four large white marble figures of Adinatha not specially well proportioned—each facting one of the doors of the shrine, whence the temple derives the name of Caumukh. These are large figures, perhaps as large as any on the hill: they sit with their feet crossed in front, after the true Bauddha style, the outer side of each thigh joining that of his fellow, and their heads rising ten or eleven feet above the

[124] The accompanying plan of this temple at the end will show its arrangements.
[125] See Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, Vol. II. p. 553.

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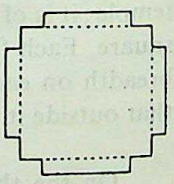
pedestal. The marble is from Makhrana in Marwad. The aspect of these, and of all the images, is peculiar, frequently on the brow and middle of the breast there is a brilliant, set in silver or gold, and almost always, the breasts are mounted with one of the precious metals, whilst there are occasionally gold plates on the shoulders, elbow, and knee joints, and a crown on the head,—that on the principal one in the Motisah being a very elegant and massive gold one. But the peculiar feature is the eyes, which seem to peer at you from every chapel like those of so many cats: they are made of silver overlaid with pieces of glass, very clumsily cemented on, and in every case projecting so far and of such a form as to give one the idea of their all wearing spectacles with lenticular glasses over very watery eyes in diseased sockets.

In small niches (*gokhlā*) in the walls of the shrine and *antarāla*, there are many marble images, the inventory of the custodians enumerates in all—"forty-four images (*pratimā*) of Mulanayaka Sri Adinatha, including those in the niches, one of Seth and Sethani, fifty-four images of stone and metal in the *omkāra* and *hṛnkāra* (right and left sides) of the *pāṭiā* (or plate), four *pañcatīrthī*[126] of metal, and five *siddha-cakra*."

The walls of the shrine, having to support the tower, are very thick and contain cells or chapels opening from the veranda: thus the doors into the shrine stand back into the wall. There are ten cells of various sizes, those at the corners open on two sides, and all contain pedestals for images, but only one on each side, on the west side has seven. There is also a cell on each side, of the porch on the east, one enshrining an image of Cakresvari Mata, and the other one, of Gomukha Yaksa.

The pillars that support the veranda deserve notice: they are of the general form everywhere prevalent here,—square columns, to the sides of which we might suppose very thin pilasters of about three-fifths the breadth had been applied. The diagram on the margin may represent the plan of such a column, and it deserves notice that this, or some simple modification of it, supplies the plan alike of the column, the temple, the tower, and the *siṁhāsana*. It is readily reducible to an octagon, and a sixteen-sided polygon, and thence to a circle. The pillars of the Caumukh have high bases, the shafts carved with flower patterns each different from its fellow, the usual bracket capitals slanting downwards on each side and supporting *gopīs*, on whose heads rest the abacus, or rather these figures,



[126] The *pancatirthi* is a plate of metal, on the centre of which is engraved a figure of a Tirthankara, at each side of which is a standing figure of *Kaosagiya*, and over the heads of these latter two more sitting figures. The plate is square below and has three points above.

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with a sort of canopy over the head of each, form second and larger brackets. The floors of the larger temples are of beautifully tessellated marble—black, white, and yellowish brown. The patterns are very much alike except in details, and consist chiefly of varieties and combinations of the figure called by the Jainas *nandyāvarta*—a sort of complicated square fret, already represented, as the cognizance of the eighteenth Tirthankara.

The porches on each side of the *gambhārā* project a little beyond the verandas, and are approached by a few steps. They are carried up to the top of the next story in which they have a balcony window on each of the exposed sides—the balconies being each supported by four neat *madalas* or brackets. They are crowned by semi-domes, the bases of that on the west side being oblong in plan. Above this the tower has still another story with a projecting window on each of the four sides.

The verandas at the north-west and south-west corners have each seven small ornamenteal domes and a small *śikhara* or spirelet on each face, and on the east side of the north porch stair leads to the upper story of the *vimāna* or spire, where we find eight more marble images of Adinatha Caumukhji. The upper part of the spire or *śikhara* appears to have been comparatively recently recoated with plaster at least—if not extensively renewed. All the lower portion of the west end of this building has an older appearance and is of more elaborate workmanship than the rest.

Over the principal *maṇḍapa*, hall, or *antarāla*, and its three porches there are plain low domes with small finials; and the three open sides of the porches are arched.

Plates 13, 14 : Temples in the Kharataravasi Tuk

Besides the cells that line the northern wall of the enclosure there are many other temples of various sizes and ages from A.D. 1618 downwards. At least seven were built at the same time with the principal temple : one near the south-west corner, dedicated to Santinatha, of whom, with other Tirthankaras, it contains forty-eight images; two towards the west, built by the Sanghvis—Khimji Somji and Lalaji Siva or Ahmedabad, who dedicated them respectively to Parsvanatha and Santinatha, with between seventy and eighty images each; another by Lalaji Siva, near the cloister (*bhāmati*), enshrining three images of Dharmanatha etc., and four pairs of feet; a Caumukh temple built by Rupaji Samaji, a Sanghvi of Ahmedabad, over two pairs of feet. It is "near the

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Rana[127] tree", which grows in the next enclosure—a tree frequently found overshadowing small temples over the feet of Adinatha, the *pādukā* under this tree being considered as symbolical of the dominion of Adinath.[128] A sixth temple built by Sah Lakharaja Kamalsi of Ahmedabad, has nineteen images of Adinatha, etc., two Sadhu *mūrtis*, an image of Cakresvari Mata, and another of Kavada Yaksa; and another Caumukh, close to the principal one, on the north side, built by Sah Gopala Devaraja is furnished with seven images of Adinatha, etc.

Among the others we may enumerate: (1) Three Caumukh temples built conjointly by a Sangha, in A.D. 1727 containing 2500 pairs of feet. (2) A temple on the south side built in A.D. 1799 by Sah Hukamchand Gangadas of Mahimapur, containing six statues of Parsvanatha. (3) Two small temples, each supported on four pillars, open on all sides, built in 1813 and 1818 A.D. over a few pairs of the *pādukā* of Jinadatta Suri. (4) A similar one built in 1725 over a pair of feet of Adinatha. (5) Temple of Ganadhara *paglān*, or feet of the followers of the Jinas—open on all sides, and built in 1625 by Bhanasali Punsi of Jesalmir contains 1452 pairs of feet. (6) A temple of marble facing the east and "built after the Mughal fashion", by Seth Vaghmalji Ghanarupji of Ajmer in 1853 with nine images. (7) Another facing the east, built in 1727 by Sah Amirachand Vaghaji of Ahmedabad, having sixteen images and one pair of feet. (8) A temple facing the west built in 1834 (S. 1891) by Bohora Amarsi contains nine statues of stone, six *pañcatīrthī*, twenty-one statues of metal, and one pair of feet. The remainder are generally very small and most of them belong to the present century.

This *cauk* of Sava Somji within the gate of Pundarika, is about 270 feet long by 116 feet wide, and forms a striking feature in the view from the south.

127 Guj. *Rayana*, Sansk. *Rajadani*, which Hemacandra makes synonymous with the *Priyala*, and his editors, Boehtlingk and Rieu, identify with the *Buchanania Latifolia*—the *Chironjia Sapida* of Roxburgh; and M. Deslongchams agress with this in his edition of the *Amarakosa*, adding that it is the Bengali *Piyala*. Dr. Bhau Daji, however, says this tree, called *Piyala* in Hindi and *Chara* in Gujarati and Marathi, is quite different from the *Rayana* or *Rajana*, which is the *Mimusops Hexandria* (Roxb) and is found in the Konkan and Gujarat. Another species, he adds, the *Mimussops Kauki* with a longer yellow fruit, is found in Central India and Bengal. This latter, M. Deslongchamps makes the *Kirani*. H. H. Wilson in his Dictionary calls the *Rajadani* the *Butea Frondosa*. Parsvanatha, it is said, attained *mukti* (*moksa*) beneath a *Cironjia* tree on Mount Samet Sikhar; and another legend says that the death of Rsabhanatha occurred while he was standing under a sacred *Vata* tree—the *Ficus Indica*. Conf. Hemacandra, *Abhidhana Cintamani*, 1142 and 1136, ed. Boeht. and Rieu, pp. 213 and 211; Deslongchamps, *Amarakosa*, pp. 87, 89; *Satrunj. Mahat.*, I. 270, 279.

128 So in the *Ramayana* (II.123) Bharata places the two shoes of Rama in the throne left vacant by his absence, Weber, *Uber des Satr. Mahat.* pp. 18, 19.

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IX

THE TEMPLES IN THE SIX SMALLER ENCLOSURES ON THE NORTHERN SUMMIT

Passing through a narrow door in the south-west corner of this enclosure, we have the *tuk* of the five Pandavas on the right, and that of Sakarchand Premchand of Ahmedabad on the left.

The first of these is the smallest on the hill and contains only two temples and a *Rayana* tree. It takes its name from one of the temples in it, built by Sah Dalichand Kikavala in 1721, facing the south, and enshrining five statues of the Pandavas—Bhima, Yudhisthira, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva, one of Draupadi, the wife of Arjuna, and one of Kuntiji or Prtha, one of the wives of Pandu, and the mother of the first three Pandavas,[129] the other temple stands immediately behind this and faces the east. It was built in A.D. 1803 (S.1860) by Sah Khusalchand Dayabhai of Surat, and "contains a thousand and twenty-four images on *sahastrakūṭa*[130] and a hundred and sixty-nine on the *pāṭiā*, or plate of Meru, a statue of Lokapala,[131] and a *siddha-cakra*." Coming out of this we enter an enclosure to the south of the Kharataravasi *tuk*. It goes by the name of Seth Sakarchand Premchand of Ahmedabad who built it in A.D. 1836. The principal temple enshrines twenty-two metal statues of Parsvanatha, etc. A smaller one on the east, built at the same time by Sah Premchand Damodar, has eleven images of Parsvanatha; another by Seth Maganbhai, the son of Seth Karmachand Premchand (A.D. 1843) has eighteen statues; whilst a third by Sah Khimachand Jamunadas of Ahmedabad, built also in 1843 A.D., has fifteen statues of Padmaprabha. There are also some other small temples.

Behind, or towards the east of the last, and to the south of the Caumukh, is the tuk of Chipavasi. The temples are mostly small.

[129] Conf. H.H. Wilson, *Visnu Purana*, p. 437; Hemacandra, *Abhidh. Cint.* 710, 711.

[130] *Sahasrakuta*, the 'thousand peaked,' one of the sacred mounts of Jaina mythology.

[131] Lokapala, a Raja of Sorath, of whom the *Buddha-vilasa* relates that he was betrothed to Candrarekha, daughter of the king of Ujjayini. On request to get some queries solved, she sent for her Guru to Kanauj; "and on his approach the Raja went out to meet him; but as he was naked further interview was delayed. At the entreaty of Candrarekha, however, who sent out clothes to him he put on a white cloth and entered the city, and was much respected. This circumstance is stated as the origin of the Svetambaras."—Delamaine, "On the Sravakas or Jainas," *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 416.

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One of them was erected by Sah Lalchand Surachand and two by a Sanghvi named Surji Mala of Patana in 1731 A.D.

Plate 15 : Nandisvara Dvipa

To the south of the *tuk* of Sakarchand Premchand is that of Seth Hemabhai Vakhatchand of Ahmedabad, erected in A.D. 1840. (S. 1897) The principal temple in it is known by the name of Sri Nandisvara Dvipa, and also as the temple of Ujambai Hemabhai: it is nearly square, but unique in its arrangements. The walls are of perforated stone-work, and inside, forming a large cross of five square compartments, are arranged fifty-three pyramidal altars or rather *dāgobās*—for such suggests itself as their original; they are not unlike miniature spires with compartments on the four sides or the marble *putlis* or images, whence they go by the name of Caumukh. In the central square is the largest of these spires, and in each of the four arms of the cross there is a pyramid of secondary size in the middle, and still smaller ones on each side of it with pairs at the angles, these latter touching each the corner of its fellow. The temple has no *vimāna* but is covered by a central and four side domes.

One of the smaller temples was erected by Seth Dayabhai Anopchand of Ahmedabad in 1841, and contains twelve images of Kunthunatha, etc., and two *siddha-cakras*, another by a lady—Prasannabai of Ahmedabad contains fifty images ; and six small ones are empty. There is a *gotraja devī* or family goddess in these temples.

Plate 16 : View from the Gate of the Nandisvara Dvipa

As the visitor comes out of this enclosure the view across the Motisah enclosure to the south-east, presents itself, with the temple of Hirachand Raykaran and the Vaghano pole, on the southern summit.

Plates 17, 18 : Tuk and Temple of Hemabhai Vahkatchand

Turning to the north-west another encolsure meets the eye. It stands on a higher level than the one just left, and has a massive square tower in front, approached by a wide flight of steps between two tanks. This *tuk* also goes by the name Hemabhai Vakhatchand,—the preceding being distinguished as his daughter Ujambai's, and this as his son Prembhai Hemabhai's. The principal temple here is by Sah Vakhatchand Khusalchand of Ahmedabad, thefather of Hemabhai Vakhatchand, built in A.D. 1826. From the south-east the tops of its three spires appear over the roof, and the projections of the three porches of the principal *maṇḍapa* each of which is crowned by an ornamental dome. But after the description given of the Caumukh, further detail is unnecessary. This is said

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to contain a hundred and two stone and metal images, three *pañcatrīthī*, seven *siddha-cakra* and two Seth and Sethani. To the east of the temple are three or four shrines, built by Lalubhai Panachand, Nagindas Hemabhai, Javherabai, the daughter of Nathu Sobhag and Hemabhai Vakhatchand in 1829 and 1832.

The court, which measures fully ninety feet each way, is surrounded by cells or cloisters (*bhāmati*) on three sides; and each cell has its images and is surmounted by a spire, whilst in front runs an arcade with small domes on the roof. There are fourteen of these cells on the north, as many on the south, and thirteen on the west side. Outside the gate in a small garden is a shrine over a pair of feet of Gautama Svami, the principal disciple of Mahavira.[132]

Plates 19, 20 : Temples of Modi Premchand and Ratanchand Javherachand

Coming out of this and passing a tank on the south side of it, we enter the most westerly *tuk* on this summit,—that of Modi Premchand Lalchand of Ahmedabad[133]. It contains three principal temples, some small ones, a shrine over the gate, and (like the Caumukh and other

[132] From the information supplied to Major Mackenzie by Carukirti Acarya, the Jaina pontiff at Belgola, it appears that Gomatesvara or Gautamesvara Svami is considered by the Dravida Jainas as the younger son of Vrsabhanatha by Sunandadevi, and consequently identical with Bahubali (vide ante p.6). The Acarya says that after Bharata Cakravarti had ruled over Bharataksetra for a considerable time, "he appointed his younger brother, Gomatesvara Svami to the government. Then abandoning the (*karma*) actions or affections of mankind, he obtained the fruits of his sacred contemplation, and proceeded to *moksa*, or heavenly salvation. Gomatesvara Svami, after he was charged with the government, ruled for a considerable time, in a town named Padmanabhapura; in the end, he attained beatitude (*nirvana*) in heaven, and departed thither. Since his death, the people worship him, in all respects as Jinesvara, or god." In Mysore the twenty-four Tirthankaras are worshipped in the temples called *Basti*, which are roofed; but in those known as *Bettu*, signifying 'a hill', and consisting of an open area surrounded by a wall, the only image is that of Gomata Raja, who is always represented naked and of colossal size. The image at Karkala, said to have been made about A.D. 1432, is 38 feet in height; and another at Belgola is at least 54 feet high.—*Asiat. Res.*, Vol. IX, pp. 260, 285.

[133] "Nothing", says Colonel Tod, writing in 1822, "can better exemplify the omnipotence of wealth, than the circumstance that the name of the plebeian Modi, of but half a century's duration, should extinguish that of the illustrious Samprati Raja, who flourished in the second century of Vikrama, and who has left so many superb memorials of his piety, greatness, and good taste, in the temples of Ajmer and Komalmer, being, moreover, universally recognised by the Jainas as the greatest and best of their princes, since Srenika, king of Rajagrha, to the present time, not even excepting the lords of Anahilawada. I am indebted for

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enclosures) many cloister-cells, each enshrining one or more images o Tirthankaras.

The central temple is considerably the largest, with its principal entrance from the east, while the ascent to the porches on the north and south is from the platforms on these sides. On the pillars of the front porch guards are cut in *alto relievo* and about half way up the walls, a deep belt of sculpture runs round the whole temple, containing pretty large representations of Bhavani, Ganesa, and other favourites of the Hindu Pantheon. In narrow recesses between these there are smaller sculptures, some of them indecent in the extreme, but it must be said, that it is only in this enclosure that such are noticeable. The chief *maṇḍapa* and the porches are crowned with plain low domes, and the *gambhārā*, or shrine, with three spires. It was built by the Modi in 1786. A.D. and contains quite a row of idols raised against the back wall; the inventory mentions "sixty-eight statues of Adisvara, etc., two *pañcatirthī*, nine *siddha-cakra*, in the *maṇḍapa* thirty-four images, twenty-nine in the two *pāṭiās*, one of Cakresvari Mata, one of Yaksa in the second *gambhārā*, two of Yaksa and Yaksini, and one Padmavati."

Over the entrance gate is the temple of Pundarika Svami, built by Hemchand Lalchand in 1786, with thirty images.

Immediately to the left of the entrance is a temple of bluish marble, facing the north. It was erected in 1803 A.D. by Javheri Ratanchand Javherachand of Surat, with twenty-two images in all, including those in a small apartment on the road. And though, at first sight, differing considerably from the plan of the temples already described, it is derived from the same fundamental form; twelve points are so arranged in a square that, omitting the corner ones, the remaining eight in the periphery form a regular octagon, whilst four inside, form an inner square having the same length of side. This determines the arrangement of the marble pillars in the *maṇḍapa* including the pilasters along the back wall. An additional aisle added behind, forms the sanctuary or *gambhārā*, separated by a screen pierced with three doors. The spaces between the columns along the sides of the *maṇḍapa* appear to have been closed after the temple was completed. The floor is, as usual, of black and white marble

this fact to the books of the Acaryas (already mentioned), and local traditions, which combine the name of Samprati with that of the Modi. This last, however, was worthy of distinction, for he not only repaired and embellished the fallen temples, endowing them with funds for the support of the priests, but encircled them with strong embattled walls for their defence. Nowhere are the gods better provided with the means of resistance, and here Adinatha and his disciples might remain free from all alarm, if they would put faith in the arm of flesh."—Tod, *Travels in Western India*, pp. 288, 289. Vide *ante* p. 55, note 123.

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tessellated according to a common pattern. The columns of the outer square are tapering octagons; those of the inner of a more fanciful pattern; and at about two-thirds their height they have bracket capitals. Those in the front support curious ornamental strusses or *toraṇas* of marble; inside, the brackets support struts, inclined outwards at a slight angle, each carved with a human figure-mostly females. Over the four central, pillars is raised the chamber on the flat roof, and the shrine is crowned by three spires.

Opposite to this on the north side, is a temple erected by Javheri Premchand Javherachand of Surat, of the same age and similar in size and plan, only the *maṇḍapa* is open at the sides. A smaller temple in the south-east, built in 1798, contains 1452 pairs of Ganadhara *paglān*. There are a few other small temples in the court, which is almost surrounded by cloisters or cell-shrines with a veranda in front. To the east of the marble temple is a range of eight of these, built in 1803, by a different person; and there are at least forty more round the court dating from 1791 to 1836 A.D.

Plate 21 : Rock-cut Image of Adibuddha

Descending from the Ujambai's temple, and turning a little to the west, we reach one with a low dome, built against the face of the rock; it seems to have no special keeper and contains only a colossal sitting figure hewn out of the rock—about 18 feet high, and from knee to knee it is 14 feet. This represents "Adibuddhaji, that is, Adinathji",[134] but is vulgarly known as Bhima Padam or Bhima Pandava ; it is perhaps a very old piece of workmanship though the temple over it is comparatively recent.

The image is painted white, the eyes, necklace, breasts etc. being dark, but the body of the image is always more or less covered with yellow spots made with saffron by the worshippers.

[134] The name Adi-Buddha "affords", says Tod, "another proof of the identity of the impersonations of Buddha and the Jinesvaras; indeed my authorities recognised no difference between Adi-Buddha and Adi-natha, the First Intelligence and First Divinity, though Europeans have contrived to puzzle themselves on the subject. Let them make a pilgrimage to the sacred mounts, and drink conviction at the fountain-head, from existing practice and from the professors of the doctrines." "Close to it," he says "is a fountain, of healing influence, dedicated to Khorea Mata, a form of the Great Mother, who (says the legend) disjointed the bones (khor) of the *Danus* and *Daityas*, the Titanic brood who inf sted and defiled all the places of sacrifice and worship in this holy land."—*Travels*, p. 288.

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X

TEMPLES IN THE VALLEY

Plates 22, 23 : The Balabhai and Southern Summit

From a small platfrom behind the Bhima Pandava temple an excellent view is obtained of the southern summit, with the Balabhai temple in the valley between. This temple stands in an enclosure or *tuk* 151 feet by 109 feet, with round towers at the corners. It was built "by Sa Kalyanji Kahanji of Bombay" in 1836, and is much of the general plan of the Caumukh, except that the *gambhārā* is oblong and has a triple spire, and in such cases it has only one door, consequently the veranda round the back is wanting, but there are two stairs to the upper story. The images in such *gambhārās* are arranged in row along the back, and in this temple number thirty-four of stone, two of metal, one *siddha-cakra*, two *pañcatīrthī*, and a plate of the nine Grahas or planets. In the *ranga maṇḍapa*, there are twenty-four images of the Tirthankaras, and Nabhi Raja on an elephant, whilst the upper story contains eighteen images of Caumukh. In the cells near the door, as at the Caumukh, we find Cakresvari Mata and Gomukha Yaksa. The shrine over the entrance is, of course, dedicated to Pundarika.

To the north and south of the entrance there are two temples of secondary size; that on the north side is a Caumukh temple built by Ujambai, the wife of Fatehchand Khusalchand of Bombay in 1846, and dedicated to Sitalanatha. The cells extend along the east and part of the south side and were built by various Sravakas to enshrine a hundred and twenty-three images.

Plate 24 *: Roadway in front of the Balabhai Temple*

From near the Bhima Pandava, a stair descends by the corner of the Balabhai *tuk* into the Valley, and a broad passage separates the Balabhai from the Motisah enclosure. The latter has a back entrance from this passage, but a wide smooth path also leads round the south side to the front of the Sugala pole, where a slight descent leads down to the area in front.

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Plates 25 *to* 30 : *The Motisah, etc.*

Outside the front entrance of the Motisah, on the left hand, is a tank or *kuṇḍ* with a small shrine of Kuntiji, the mother of the Pandavas.[135] The enclosure or *tuk* itself, which is 231 feet by 224 feet, is surrounded by a lofty wall with round towers at the corners, and is entered by a gate under a massive square projecting tower on the east side; inside the entrance of which, as in many other cases, we ascend by a few steps to the level of the enclosure within. This magnificent square, filled with temples, was constructed in 1835-1836, principally at the expense of Seth Motisah Amichand, a wealthy merchant and banker of Bombay, and his relatives, and is said to have cost four or five lakhs of rupees. On entering the *tuk* the principal temple faces the visitor. It is of the same plan as the Balabhai temple, and its extreme dimensions are 67½ feet wide by 81 feet from east to west. On each side of the steps leading up to the front entrance are two small shrines, the one of Cakresvari Mata, the other of Gomukha Yaksa; the north and south entrances are approached by flights of steps from the east, landing in the porches—the stairs leading to the upper story being behind these porches. All the porches have arches on three sides and that in front has within the arch an elaborately carved double bracket or *toraṇa*, and the entrance is guarded on either side by *dvarāpālas*. The principal image in the *gambhārā* is not quite so large as in the Caumukh, and wears a massive embattled crown of gold. The temple is furnished with two hundred and five images, *siddha-cakras*, etc.

Over the entrance and facing the principal temple, is as usual, that of Pundarikji Ganadhara, over the front of which is a sort of square pavilion, similar to the porches, and open on all sides.

To the north and south of the principal temple there are two pretty large temples on each side; in the four corners of the enclosure there are smaller ones; and along the back there are some five more small ones. One on the south side is a temple of Sahasrakuta, with its thousand and twenty-four little figures on the representation of the mountain, besides other images in the upper story, etc. It was erected by Navalchand Galalchand of Bombay. To the north of the gate on the west side, is a temple by Khusalchand Tarachand of Surat, containing besides twelve images of Caumukhji, etc., 1542 pairs of feet of the Ganadharas, and seven other images of stone and metal. A little to the north of it we again meet a small temple with the *pādukā* of Adinatha under the

[135] "Tradition says it was executed at her command, while her sons were exiles in the forest of Virat."—Tod, *Travels*, p.282.

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Rayana tree; it was built by Motichand, the son of Seth Amichand Saharachand, the founder of the principal temple.

Along the east and south sides of this square there are continuous rows of shrines, built by various persons, and containing numerous images. The whole number in the *tuk* is reckoned at three thousand six hundred objects of worship.

Outside the enclosure, and to the north side of the entrance, there are two very pretty temples, the one by Devchand Kalyanchand of Khambhat, built in 1836 and the other by Sah Manchand Vallabhdas of Aurangabad in 1846. In front of the latter, is the small gate called Ram pole.

One of the most commanding views of this magnificent square is obtained from the roof of the Bhima Pandava temple, from which all the larger temples can be distinctly seen—indeed nearly all within the walls, except some of the smaller temples under the west wall.

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XI

TEMPLES IN THE VIMALAVASI TUK

The only entrance to the enclosure on the southern summit is by the gateway near the south-east corner of the Motisah enclosure, and which bears the name of the Sugala pole in commemoration of the munificence of a banker of Bengal.[136] Close to it is a pretty large tank "excavated by Nogan, the first Gohil of Palitana".[137] To the right hand is the Vaghano pole or "Tiger gate", at which are a Tigress, Bhairava and Hanumana, covered with oily vermilion. We are now at the end of a sort of ascending street lined on either side with temples, of which there are about sixty of all sizes and styles in this outer enclosure of the Vimalavasi *tuk*. We need only notice a few of them, and that very briefly.

Plate 31 : Temple of Hirachand Raykaran

To the left, on entering the gate is a temple of considerable size with three sprires, built in 1803, by Hirachand Raykaran of Daman and dedicated to Santinatha. It has square porches on either side of the *maṇḍapa*, but is not in any way remarkable. Near it is a small shrine by the same merchant.

Plates 32, 33 : The Bhulaoni

Immediately to the west of Hirachand's temple is the much larger old temple known as the Bhulaoni or Labyrinth with a double row of small spires; it is separated from the preceding by a passage on a much lower level, spanned by two porticoes at the entrances to two small shrines in the Bhulaoni building,—the first of Sri Cakresvari Mata, established by Dosi Karma Sah of Chitod, at the same time as he restored the great temple of Adisvara Bhagavan about 1530 A.D.; the second was dedicated in 1764 by Tarachand, a Sanghvi of Surat, to Vaghesvari Mata who is represented sitting on a tiger. The entrance to the Bhulaoni proper, however, is some way up the street already alluded to; it is evidently an old building, though often restored and furnished afresh with images; and in the lap (*pālaṅṭhī*) of one of them Sri Suparsvanatha, there is an inscription apparently ascribing the building to the Sanghvi Rupaji Somaji of Ahmedabad in A.D. 1618. Fragments of building of very

[136] Tod, *Travels*, p. 282.
[137] *Ibid.*

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different ages may be recognized in different parts of it, and some of them are probably as old as any now on the hill—perhaps dating even from the twelfth or thirteenth century. It is divided into a series of small crypt like apartments, mostly square in plan, but with the corners arched over so as to permit of an architrave to be carried round an octagon over which the dome rises. The domes are elaborately carved and some of them have pendentives of considerable beauty. The recesses cut off at the corners of the square have generally two marble images. The central shrine is peculiar: an opening in the floor enables us to look down to an image in the sunk story, right in front is a second, some what smaller, and in a sort of attic there is a third of still less size; the *sinhāsanas*, etc. of each image are elaborately carved. The pillars of this part of the building have pretty high bases, fully one-third of the shaft is square, above which it changes first to an octagon, then to sixteen sides, and above a narrow circular belt, it returns through the octagon to the square under the bracket of the capital. Those in the central shrine have a short of dwarf column above, surmounted by a deep architrave.

Behind this pile which occupies an area of about 96 feet by 48½ feet there is a large covered tank.

Plates 34, 35 : Various Temples

As we proceed westwards, we pass a very white temple, on the right hand side, covered by a dome. A few steps lead up to the door, on each side of which the wall is divided into panels of perforated stone. This is the temple of Sah Virdhichand Gulabchand of Gwalior, built in 1852. It is extremely cramped in its dimensions and, architecturally, it may be considered a failure; but a step inside the door, you find there is an inner temple, formed of thin slabs of white marble, which the outer building only serves to protect. On each side of the entrance of this inner temple, are carved upon the wall two curious figures illustrative of Jaina cosmogony and topography. In the *Meru-aṣṭāpada* Ravana figures prominently, and the visitor observes among the multitude of figures one represented flying the sun as a kite. On the other side is Samet Sikhar—done in a way that looks peculiarly Chinese. Entering the inner apartment, we find it nearly wholly occupied by a model of a temple of marble placed on a beautiful pedestal, and a black figure of Parsvanatha (whose proper complexion however is blue) with Candraprabha, the eighth Tirthankara, in white marble, sitting before him.

On the south side there is a large temple with five *gambhārās* built by Sah Kuvarji Ladha of Bhavnagar in 1758, and next to it another large one, also facing the north, built by Motichand Sivchand of Ajmer in

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1857, and dedicated to Dharmanatha. On the north side, the next beyond Virdhichand's that of Sah Mithachand Ladha of Patana, built in 1812, facing the east, and dedicated to Candraprabha. The next stands nearer the path and is consequently better seen: it also faces the east, and was built in 1786 by Bohra Kesarisingh Ladha of Surat. It is dedicated to Sambhavanatha. Behind it, to the north, is another large temple built in 1726 by Sah Vadhu Sogidas of Anahilapattana, and at present called the temple of Boghalsah. It is dedicated to Adinatha. A little beyond Bohra's is a smaller temple, with an open portico, on the east, built in 1803 by Manet Dayachand Mayachand, and beside it a marble temple, built at the same time, by Patua Kapurchand Rikhavdas of Sri Mesana, and dedicated to Padmaprabha. The next is very much larger and has a loftier spire than most of those in this enclosure. It is a Caumukh temple with large porticoes on the four sides. It was originally built in 1629 by Manet Jaymalla Jesavala of Jodhpur. Locally it is known as the "temple of a hundred columns" (*śata-sthamba*) though the number of separate pillars outside is only sixty-four. It contains four Caumukh images of Mahavira Svami, etc.

Returning to the temple of Motichand Sivchand on the south side, and again advancing westward, we pass a small temple to Sumatinatha, another built by Parekh Somchand of Ahmedabad in 1625, and a recent one dedicated to Parsvanatha, and then come to that called "the temple of Jagat Seth". If really erected by him, it does not convey a very high idea of the pious munificence of the wealthy banker of Bengal, from whose house at Murshidabad, a party of Maratha horse, under Mir Habib, the Diwan of Orissa, carried off fully two crores of Arkot rupees in April, 1742[138] without putting him to serious inconvenience.

[138] Mill does not give any date, but Sayid Ghulam Husain Khan says it occurred in the month of Safar, of 1155 Hijra. His translator adds in a note, that Jagat Seth Alamchand's house, even in 1786, contained no less than two thousand souls, and that after the loss of the sum mentioned above, equal to two and a half millions sterling—"a loss which would depress any monarch in Europe, affected him so little, that he continued to give Government bills of exchange *at sight* of full one crore at a time." A recent Hindu writer says, "the famous Seths, of whom Burke remarked in the House of Commons, 'that their transactions were as extensive as those of the Bank of England' and of whom the natives say that they proposed to block up the passage of the Bhagirathi with rupees, are now reduced to the greatest poverty. One of their descendants still lives, and occupies the ancient ancestral residence, which is in a very dilapidated state. He subsisted for many years by the sale of the family jewels, till at last, the British government granted him a monthly pension of 1,200 rupees. His ancestors were reputed to have possessed ten crores of rupess. The tile of Jagat Seth, or Banker of the World, was conferred upon the family by the Emperor of Delhi."—Conf. Mill and Wilson's *Hist of British India*, (4th ed) Vol. III. p. 157. *Seir Mutakharin*, Vol. I. p. 426; Bholanath Chunder, *Travels of a Hindu*, Vol. I. pp. 78, 79.

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The temple is a comparatively small one with a portico in front and dedicated to Sumatinatha, the fifth Tirthankara: on his left sits Rsabhanatha and on the right Santinatha. The shrine has an abundance of elaborate carving about these and the eight other images that occupy it; but though the temple has gone by the name of Jagat Seth Alamchand for the last fifty years at least, in the lap of the image of Sumatinatha there is inscribed "built by Sanghvi Kachara Kika in Samvat 1810", i.e., A.D. 1753. Next to it is a large temple on the road, built by Sah Ravji Abhechand of Randhanapura in 1779, and dedicated to Parsvanatha with the *seṣaphaṇi* or serpent's hood canopy,[139] carved in beautiful white marble. This canopy closely resembles those over the Naga figures at Ajanta and in other Buddhist sculptures, and forms another point of resemblance between the Jaina and Bauddha symbols. Owing to the nature of the material, however, it is much larger and more elaborately carved than is usually the case in existing Bauddha sculptures.

Passing a group of temples on the left, which we need not describe, we reach the head of the street or path, looking back from whence, we command a view of portions at least of most of the temples down to the gate.

Plates 36 to 38 : Kumarapala's and Neighbouring Temples

Here the path turns a little to the south terminating in an area round one or two trees. On the south side is the temple of Kumarapala of Anahilapura. It is loftier but somewhat in the style of the Bhulaoni, and forms a fine block with low towers. The door of the shrine is of yellowish stone minutely carved, and over Rsabhadeva is a fine canopy of bluish marble. Inside it has a court and separate shrines, the whole number of *putlis* or images being eighty-four. Though one of the oldest temples on the hill, it has been so often repaired, if not entirely rebuilt, that it would be difficult to point out any portion that can with certainty be ascribed to the original temple.

In the south-east of the area, a small temple has just been rebuilt, and behind it is the group of temples passed in approaching this point.

On the north side there is a group of temples, two of them built about 1829, the one by Mulaji Puraji Palia of Ratlam and dedicated to Adinatha, containing, among other objects of worship a statue of

[139] Vide *ante* p.10 note 20. This accompaniment of Parsvanatha is pretty common on the hill, "suggesting", says Tod, "another curious analogy to the Egyptian Hermes, whose symbol was the serpent, and one of his names Phanetes."—*Travels* p. 283.

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Khetrapala and a *yantra* or *jantra*—a drawing on a sheet of copper; the other built by Trikamji Kahanji of Bombay, with a third built in 1769, are dedicated to Sambhavanatha, the third Tirthankara; a fourth temple in this group was built by Sah Padamsi of Nagar in 1619 A.D., one of these has a deep belt of sculptured figures round the whole temple, reminding one of the old temples at Ambarnatha near Kalyana.

Behind these, and in an enclosure by itself, to the west of the temple of Manet Jayamala is a large temple. It is the only one on the hill belonging to the Digambara sect of Jainas, and was built in 1629 A.D. by a Sanghvi named Raghavji Ramji of the Humada Vania caste and a native of Ahmedabad. The principal *maṇḍapa* is covered by a large low dome, and it has domed porches on the east, north and south sides, the *gambhārā* is on the west and is said to contain fourteen images of Santinatha, a statue of a *devi* or goddess, five metal images, etc. But it is rare to find it open or get access to the interior.

Plate 39 : The Hathi Pole

To the west of the temple of Kumarapala is the Hathi pole or Elephant gate, so named from two elephants in *basso relievo* in the plaster at the sides of the entrance. Inside this there is an area of about fifty feet wide to the next gate. It contains two small shrines—one of Ganapati, the elephant-headed, pot-bellied, Hindu god of wisdom, the other of Annapurna, the goddess of abundance, a beneficent form of Bhavani.

Plates 40, 41 : The Adisvara Bhagavan

Within the Hathi pole there is another gate, that of the temple of Pundarika Svami, passing through which, the first temple that meets the view is the great temple, the *sanctum sanctorum* of the *tīrtha*, the shrine of Mulanayaka Sri Adisvara Bhagavan. "All that is most celebrated for antiquity or sanctity", says Col. Tod,[140] "is contained in this court: but sectarian animosities, the ambition to be regarded as founders, and the bigotry of other creeds, have all conspired to deface the good works which faith had planted on this holy mount. It is notorious that sectarian zeal, amongst persons of similar faith, is more destructive than the hatred of those of dissimilar creeds; and here, from the mouths of learned Jainas, whose universal law is to 'hurt no sentient being', I became acquainted with the fact, that the wars of their two chief sects, the Tapa-gachha and Kharatara-gachha, did more than the Islamites to destroy

[140] *Travels*, etc., p. 284.

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all records of the past; for when the Tapas had the ascendancy, they tore down the inscribed tablets of the Kharataras, and replaced them by their own, which again were broken into fragments, when, during the reign of Siddha Raja, the Kharataras had power." The consequence is that no entire structure on the hill can lay claim even to a moderate antiquity, all have been rebuilt or repaired and altered.

The great temple is, on the whole, an imposing edifice, but so very similar in plan to all the other temples of the class that description is almost unnecessary. It differs from the Caumukh mainly in the *maṇḍapa* being of two stories, and in the absence of the veranda round the outside of the *gambhārā*, but it is surrounded by little cells or shrines—not parts of the original design, but added by votaries in later times. And so closely is it hemmed in on every side, that it is impossible to get a view of the whole temple at once, except from the front. Looking up at the spire, especially from the passage round its base, the spectator is struck by the strong resemblance it bears to an erection of wood; indeed it can hardly be credited that such a structure, so carved, could ever have been devised in stone; it must originally have been simply a copy of what had first been made only in wood.

The statue of Rsabhadeva in the shrine is of colossal size, with the usual crystal eyes, a golden collar and bracelets, and a crown. The other statues are very numerous: besides the great image, there are fifty-five smaller Tirthankaras in the shrine, and a much larger number in the *ranga maṇḍapa*, besides two *kausaggiyas* standing beside Adinatha: Nabhiraja, and Marudevi—seated as usual on a marble elephant near the door of the shrine; and a Jugaliya[141] also on an elephant. In the upper story there are, in the *gambhārā*, besides thirty-three images of the Tirthankaras, one of Gautama Svami, one of Mahalaksmi, two *tapasvis* or ascetics, and two pairs of feet; and in the *maṇḍapa*, nienty-three of Tirthankaras and two *tapasvis*—a goodly assemblage of two hundred and seventy-four objects of adoration.

Colonel Tod quotes a list of erections, derived apparently from some native source, which probably applies to the successive restorations

141 The Jainas entertain the notion that in the reproduction of the world in the first *ara* of the *sarpini* period, from a cave in a mountain fourteen pairs sprang into existence from a former seed; these were the Yugaliyas—so called from being born, living, and dying in pairs. They were free from the baser passions, and were furnished with all they required, as food, clothing etc., by ten trees called Kalpavrksa. In the third *ara* of the *sarpini* period the fruits of these trees fail and a Jinesvara appears to teach men the arts. Nabhi Raja and Marudevi were Yugalas.—Conf. Hemacandra, *Abhidh. Cint.*, 132-135.

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of this temple rather than to separate buildings on different sites. It runs thus: "The first building was erected by Bharata; the next by the eighth in descent from him, Dhandavirya; the third by Isanendra, a *devatā* or god; the fourth by Mahendra; the fifth by Brimindra; the sixth by Bhavarhatti; the seventh by Sagara Cakravarti, a universal potentate; the eighth by Vinitendra; the ninth by Candrajasa; the tenth by Cakrayudha; the eleventh by Raja Tamacandra; the twelfth by the Pandava Brothers; the thirteenth by Javada Sah, a merchant of Kashmir, one hundred years after Vikramaditya; the fourteenth by Bahirdeva Mehta, minister to Raja Siddha Raja of Anahilawada; the fifteenth by Samara Sarang, uncle to the king of Dehli, in S. 1371; the sixteenth by Karma Dosi, 'the slave of good works', minister of Chitod, in S. 1578."[142]. The earlier of these founders or restorers may be rejected as mythical, but a Jaina account obtained on the spot states that 'this temple was built by Javada Sah in Samvat 1018 (A.D. 961) being its thirteenth *uddhāra* or restoration, and it is there to the present day.' Then Bahada, the minister of Kumarapala spent 'two crores and ninety-seven lakhs in constructing a stone temple',[143] and possibly in restoring this in A.D. 1154. Next we find it further stated by Merutunga that "in Samvat 1371 (A.D. 1314) on account of troubles from the Yavanas (Muhammadans), when the image of Javada was lost, a new one was set up by Samaraka",—the same person as Tod's Samara Sarang. The local account goes on to say that 'in Javada's temple was placed a statue—the sixteenth *uddhāra* by Karma Sah of Chitod in the year Samvat 1587 (A.D. 1530). This agrees with the statement in one of the inscriptions in the vestibule of the temple of which the following[144] is a translation :

The manner of constructing the temple of the great and ever-to-be praised Adisvarji is here exactly written; He is our god and the master of all. This temple was begun in the reign of Bahadur Shah, son of Mahmud Shah, king of Gujarat, in the year Samvat 1582, by Dosi Karma Sah, the agent of Mujad Khan, Diwan of the Kingdom. The Satrunjaya Hill is also called Citrakot Narnor. It is necessary to record that the temple of Adisvarji will be constructed altogether at sixteen different times: this of Dosi Karma Sah is the 7th. Where is it erected? On the Palitana Hill by one strong in the Jaina faith, and for the ornament of the sacred mountain.

Throughout Gujarat, and in the opinion of all persons of consequence, this hill is the choicest of all hills; whoever offers up his

142 Tod, *Travels in Western India*, pp. 280, 281.

143 Dr. Bhau Daji, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. IX. p. 156.

144 This translation, prepared by Capt. (now General) Le Grand Jacob, was published in the *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As.* Soc., Vol. I. pp. 57-59. Unfortunately the original was not published with it, "the 7th consecration" is probably an error for "the 16th".

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prayers upon it will be supremely happy and prosperous; its trees are like the Kalpavrksa, and it resembles the golden hill of Meru; indeed it is the best of all spots of a temple for the Jainas; everyone who sees it becomes delighted, and he that dwells there has all his sins pardoned. The raja of the hill was Sri Kumbhaji, who was a mighty man, and like Agastya Rsi, who was born from Kumbha, and who swallowed up the ocean, so this Raja devoured all his enemies. His son Sangama Singha, was victorious in war, his grandson Rajamalla was more hardy than any other raja in battle, Rajamalla's son Ratna Singha was worthy of the throne, even as a Deva, and brave as a lion. In his reign lived the founder of the temple.

On the hill of Gopaha resided a Yati named Bapabhat, who had retired from the world for the purpose of penance and devotion; thither went Dosi Karma Sah with his wife; the ascetic instructed them in wisdom and convinced him that money and even life were thing of no moment—all his race were persons of renown and chastity. His pedigree is as follows: Sarandeva's son was Ramadeva, and his Lakha, his son was Bhuvanapala, and his Khetu, who was the father of Narasingha, who had two wives, Taradevi of noble birth, and Lelu very religious; their descendants were all prosperous; the first son named Ratna Aksa was worth a hundred crores of rupees, he resided at Sri Citrakut, his wife was extremely virtuous, and he had two sons Manik and Hira, the third borther's wife was a treasure of wisdom, she had one son; the fourth brother was named Dasarath, whose wife was full of faith and devotion their son was named Kelara; another was named Bhoja, whose wife was universally accomplished, their son was Madhavji, endowed with a patient disposition, penetrating intellect, and sound wisdom; he had one sister named Vira; Dosi Karma Sah's first wife was Kapur Devi, and second, Kamat Devi, his son was named Suraji Prabhakar. Such is the pedigree of Dosi Karma Sah. Now is to be recorded the consecration of the Lord of the Jaina faith. In the reign of Sri Raja Ratna Singh, gifts were distributed and honours paid to holy men agreeable to the *śāstras*—Sri Dosi Karma Sah was much beloved by the Raja. Whoever will listen to the account of the Citrakut hill will have all his sins pardoned. He obtained by his wisdom, honour from the King and from all the numerous learned men of Gujarat: his patron, the Diwan Mujad Khan, was as brave as the lion of the wilderness: in his service he obtained much honour and wealth. He came to Palitana to erect the temple of Adisvarji as a place of refuge for all the brave and good of the earth, with great pomp and festivity, dancing and singing, according to the instruction of his spiritual guide with the melody of various instruments—the *cureh*, the *cang* and *mṛdanga*, the *verī*, the *vīṇā*, the *wasna*, the *nalrucna*, and the *sura*; every body being dressed in their best clothes

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and with jewellery, elephants, horses, carriages, *pālkis*, all joining in procession; thus at an auspicious moment, on Thursday 6th Baisakh *vadi*, in the era of king Vikramaditya, 1587, the consecration of the shadow Adisvarji took place. All the great, learned, and holy pandits and the most intelligent men of the assembly aided in this seventh consrecation of the temple. Thus, in the Kali yuga age, this temple was erected the seventh time by permission of the king, that every one of the Jaina faith might, by coming to Palitana obtain happiness for his soul. May the family of Dosi Karma Sah be ever happy and prosperous: such a work as that he has performed was never before done or ever will be; since, though under Muhammadan rule, still the force and weight of his character gratified both king and people, and thus, the consecration of the temple was permitted. The fame of Dosi Karma Sah, inhabitant of Citrakut, is spread throughout the world as the full moon shines over the earth; the various bands of pilgrims who visit Palitana are filled with delight at the view."

The following inscription also, from the other side of the entrance, appears to relate to the dedication of additional images and repairs executed on this temple by Tejapala, a goldsmith of Khambhat (A.D. 1589 to 1593):

Of the divine race of Ukesa was born the excellent Sri Sivaraja, goldsmith, of religious character. His son was Sridhara, his son Parvata, his son Kala, his son Wadha, his son Bali, his son Rajai, whose wife was Suhasani. They were like Indra and Indrani. Their son was Tejapala, dear to the gods, obedient to his parents, benevolent to the poor. Like Rati, the wife of Kama or Rambha of Hari, or Gauri of Siva, was his beloved wife Galada. This happy couple, respectable and honourable as Indra and his bride, enjoyed happiness. Known for their conspicuous temperance, distinguished for their success, eminently fortunate and wise, like the chief sages, their voice was so sweet that *amṛta* wept for envy, devotion itself did homage to their character. They were distinguished for piety, for offerings, and especially for the restoration of a *caitya*. In the year S. 1646 the goldsmith Tejapala, in an auspicious day, joyfully dedicated the images of Parsvanatha and Anantanatha. Formerly in the famous *tīrtha* Satrunjaya there was a notable *caitya*, beautified with numerous jewels, and several persons had increased the splendour of the place by their efforts in succession. In the year 1588, at this *tīrtha*, Sadhu Karma built a *caitya* remarkable for elegance and ornaments. Seeing this divine *vihāra* in decay Tejapala considered in his mind when the *caitya* would be restored. Next day, after consulting his Guru, this prince of Vanias, who lived in Sri Stambha, resolved to secure prosperity by devoting his wealth to the house of Arhanta at Satrunjaya, and to gratify a host of ancestors by the restoration of the *caitya* on the sacred top of Vimalacala.

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He made a golden vessel on the top of the *caitya*, with a point piercing heaven. It was fifty-two cubits high, within one cubit of heaven. Laksmi was qutie outdone. The 1245 golden vessels, like the vessels in the forehead of the sacred elephtans, shine in this temple like suns compelled by the force of Rahu to minister to his glory; twenty-nine lions seem ready to destroy at once all the elephants assailing them. Four Yoginis appear in beauty like the four quarters of heaven, in attendance in the temple. The regents of the compass appear in this temple like religious worshippers, seventy-two windows admit the fragrance like seventy-two flowers filling the world with odour. Four arches appear like four faces of the deity in creative power. Four saints in the temple are like four incarnations of religion. Thirty-two images at the door, more beautiful than the wife of Indra, are like wives looking out for their husbands. Thirty-two wreaths hanging from the lintel are like the regular teeth of women. Twenty-four elephants large as mountains are like twenty-four deities come in this form to worship. Seventy-four pillars, high as Meru, are like all the (64) Indras with the (100) regents of the compass to pay homage. In the year S. 1649 he was favoured with help of Vrija Thakur, as a garden is refreshed with rain, and to the delight of all, appeared the building of this wise man like the *caitya* in Astapada. May this *caitya* in Satrunjaya called Nandavardhana like the four *caityas*, Dharmamedini, Bhujangesa, Prinita, and Visvastupa, bestow on us our desires. On hearing the cost of this noble building men exclaim, Tejapala must be in possession of the wishing-tree.

In the year S. 1650 Tejapala called a meeting at Satrunjaya, and with the help of his Guru dedicated this *caitya* on an auspicious day of the Vijaya year. Seeing the *caitya*, all men rejoice, as lilies when they see the sun, or as the sea at full moon, or as peacocks in rain. Sri Ramji gladly made a new square *caitya*, by the command of the Thakur, Prottun Ganjasa Kujjaraja made a second, Mulasresthi a third, and Nikama a fourth. The enclosure with those four *caityas* filling the world with light, like pearls strung together, made the top of Satrunjaya like the *svargaloka* of Indra. The *caitya* was adorned by the art of the chief carpenter Wasta, from whom Visvakarma himself might take lessons. Hema Vijaya the pupil of the virtuous Kamala Vijaya composed this eulogium adorned with beauties as a woman with jewels. May it remain for ever famous. Madhava and Nana carved this inscription which was written out by Jaya Sagara, as the eulogium of the sacred creation of Tejapala, the goldsmith.[145]

[145] This version has been prepared from the Sanskrit copy in the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 100-103, by the Rev. R. Stothert, M.A. The translation by Bal Gangadhar Shastri, as given in the same volume (pp. 63-66), is so unsatisfactory, and so defaced by typographical blunders as to be nearly useless.

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Of the numerous temples in this square only a very few can be noticed. An arch connects the porch on the south side of the great temple with the fort of the temple of sesakuta or sahasrakuta, built in 1639 by a Sanghvi named Govindji of Diva. It contains a large square block of yellowish marble, carved with small images in thirteen lines, the lower five broken to make room for a larger figure. On the whole block there are a thousand and twenty-four images, and there are eleven separate ones in niches of the temple. The temple similarly situated on the north side is that of the Ganadhara *paglān* or feet of the first teachers. It contains a sort of altar of bluish marble slabs raised one above another, the upper one covered with the regulated number of fourteen hundred and fifty-two pairs of feet.

Plates 42, 43 : Temple of Samet Sikhar and Marble Temple

To the west of the temple of Sesakuta is a small Caumukh temple built by Rupchand of Surat in 1791, and to the west of this again, is the temple of Samet Sikhar, a pavilion, or *maṇḍapa* over an octagonal *stūpa*, having on the top of the pedestal, on alternate sides, three and two pairs of feet, or in all twenty,—with twenty-six marble images at the angles, etc. Behind the great temple, are many little temples over *caraṇa* or *paglān*, and to the north-west the eye is arrested by a small shrine of the purest white marble, erected by Dalpatbhai Bhagubhai of Ahmedabad over two feet, very large ones, of Adisvara Bhagavan. This is the restoration of a shrine consecrated by Dosi Karma Sah of Chitod on the 6th of Baisakh *vadi*. S. 1587 or A.D. 1530. The temple is overshadowed by the *Rana* or *Rayana* tree, "believed by the faithful to be a never-dying scion of that which shaded the first of their prophets, and which now overshadows his sanctified *pādukā*".[146] Near it is a temple of Sri Hira Vijaya Suri, so often mentioned already. It was built in 1595 to contain one pair of feet.

Returning to the square in front of the great temple, we find on north side of it the temple of Mandira Syami—who is sometimes apprently considered as a Tirthankara, though his name has no place in the modern orthodox lists.[147] This temple also goes by the name

146 Tod, *Travels*, etc. p. 286.

147 He is apparently of Digambara introduction, as he figures in the *Buddha. vilasa*, in which he is represented as being five hundred bows' legnth or two thousand cubits high, and inhabiting Videha-ksetra or Videha-varsa, where they say he was visited and worshipped by Muni Kunda Kunda Acarya, who lived about S. 749 or A.D. 692. It is probable the number of the Tirthankaras has been altered at different times ; and the sect of Ramasena even made new ones.—Conf. Delamaine, *Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 418.

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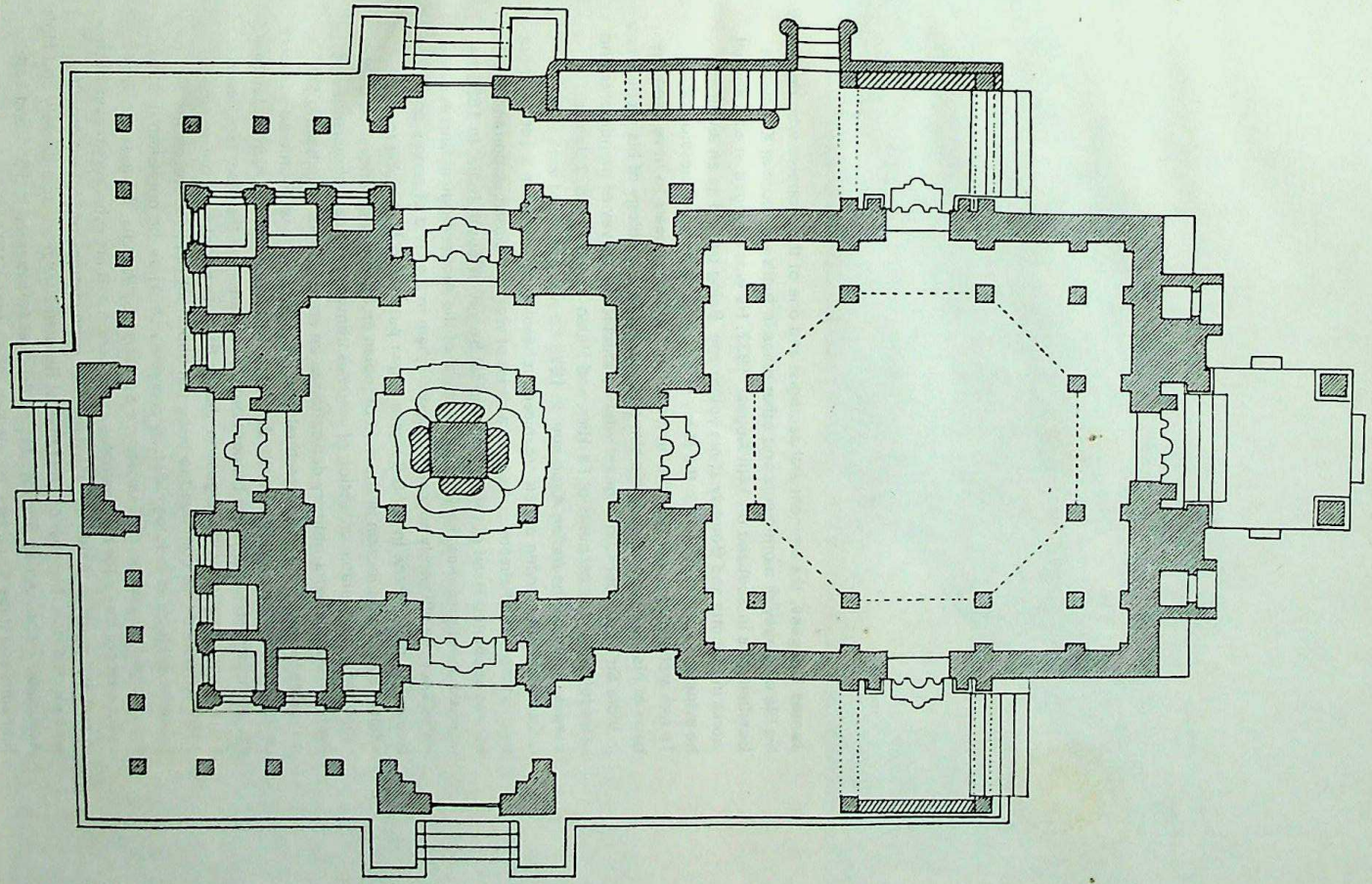
of Visottamji: it was erected by Sah Champsi Mansingh of the Oswal gotra of Ahamedabad in 1620 A.D. The principal image is that of Adinatha, and among the others, are a *Dikpāla*, and *Kāosaggiya* or standing meditative figures of Visottama and Sarasvati. It has a sort of open canopy above the porch. Nearly opposite to it, on the south side, is a similar temple—that of Pancabhaya built in 1610 A.D. by Suradas Lakshmidas, a Sanghvi of the Kharatara-gachha from Vikramanagar.

Plates 44, 45 : Temples of Ramji Gandharia and Bahu Svami

The temple of Ramji of Gandharia in the north-east corner of the square is a Caumukh of two stories. It was dedicated to Santinatha, and with the temple opposite to it, on the south side, is one of the larger temples in this enclosure. Over the gateway on the west side is the shrine of Pundarika Svami built by Dosi Karma Sah of Chitod about the same time as he restored the great temple; and as with it,—this is called the sixteenth *uddhāra* or restoration. The shrine consists of three rooms furnished with hundreds of images of various sizes—the principal one with a fillet round the head, knee and shoulder caps, breasts, etc. of silver. The door is also of the same metal. Close to this temple, on the south side, is another large one, built in the sixteenth century, with a large open *maṇḍapa* to the north.

Of the numerous small shrines arround this court it is impossible to give any detailed account. The number of images, pairs of feet, etc. in this single enclosure is reckoned at nearly five thousand. Among the older shrines we find the dates 1286 A.D. ascribed to one, built by Raja Abhepala, as the plate states : 1252 to one beside it; 1227 to the small temple of Sah Jasapala; and two others are as old as 1109 and 1132 A.D. respectively; but for the accuracy of these dates nothing further is alleged than that they are taken from Jaina accounts.

Plan of Caumukh Temple at Satrunjaya



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James Burgess, the eminent archaeologist and one of the pioneers who dedicated his life on survey of monuments and other relics in India was born at Kirkmahoe, Bumfreisshire in Scotland on 14th August, 1832. He was engaged in educational works in Calcutta and Bombay at his young age. Being trained as an architect he evinced a special interest in the study of monuments as an expression of art. To him archaeology was "but the history of art" which appears to have been the basis of his life's work. Herein his aim differed from the ideology of his predecessor in India Sir Alexander Cunningham who conducted his survey of monuments and relics following the accounts of Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsang. In 1872 James Burgess founded the *Indian Antiquary*. In 1873 he was entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out an organised archaeological survey in Western India. By this time he had already completed a series of works of classic importance. In 1881 he was appointed Head of the Archaeological Survey in South India. In 1886 he received appointment as the Director-General of the Archaeological Surveys in India. Thus, he ultimately succeeded Cunningham in the field of survey and research in the country. In 1888 Burgess began publishing *Epigraphia Indica* whose regular contribution in the field of Indian archaeology can never be over-estimated. An admirable collection of volumes convey his great scholarship and the results of the extra-ordinary dedication of an archaeologist marshalling his resources for surveying of architectural remains in India. His well-ordered volumes on Amaravati, Satrunjaya, Somnath, Junagarh, Girnar, Elephanta, Ajanta, Jaunpur, etc. are memorable works. He brought out a publication on the cave temples of India in collaboration with Fergusson. James Burgess withdrew from service in 1889. Afterwards, he continued to bring out important publications on his favourite subjects of Indological study and research. Thus, he published in 1901 the enlarged translation of Grunwedel's *Buddhist Art in India*. Burgess received various recognitions for his invaluable contribution and his scholarship ever fresh in zeal and purpose. Aside other instances of appreciations of highest order he was elected Hon. Member of The Imperial Russian Archaeological Society and Hon. Associate, Finno-Ugrian Society. James Burgess was married in 1855 and had four sons and three daughters. He died on 5th October, 1916.

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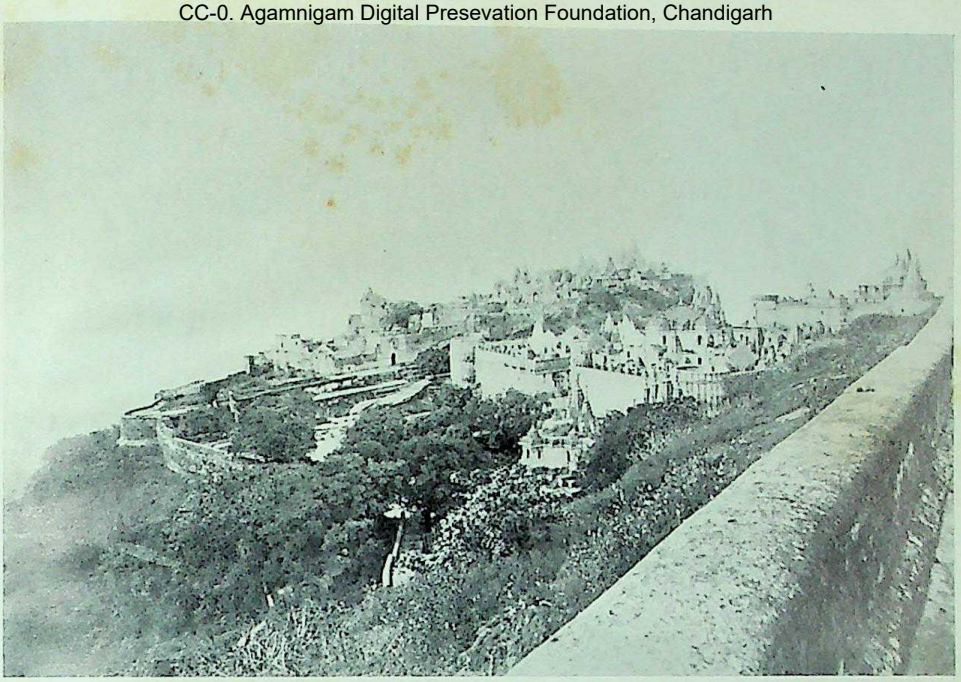
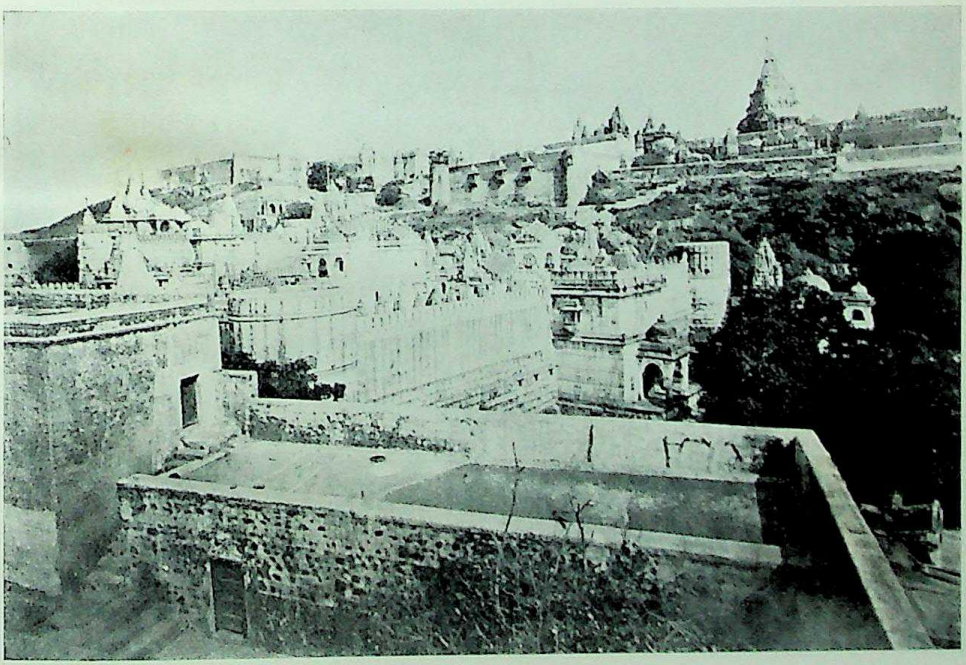


I. Satrunjaya—from the North Summit



II. General View of the Northern Summit with the Motisah

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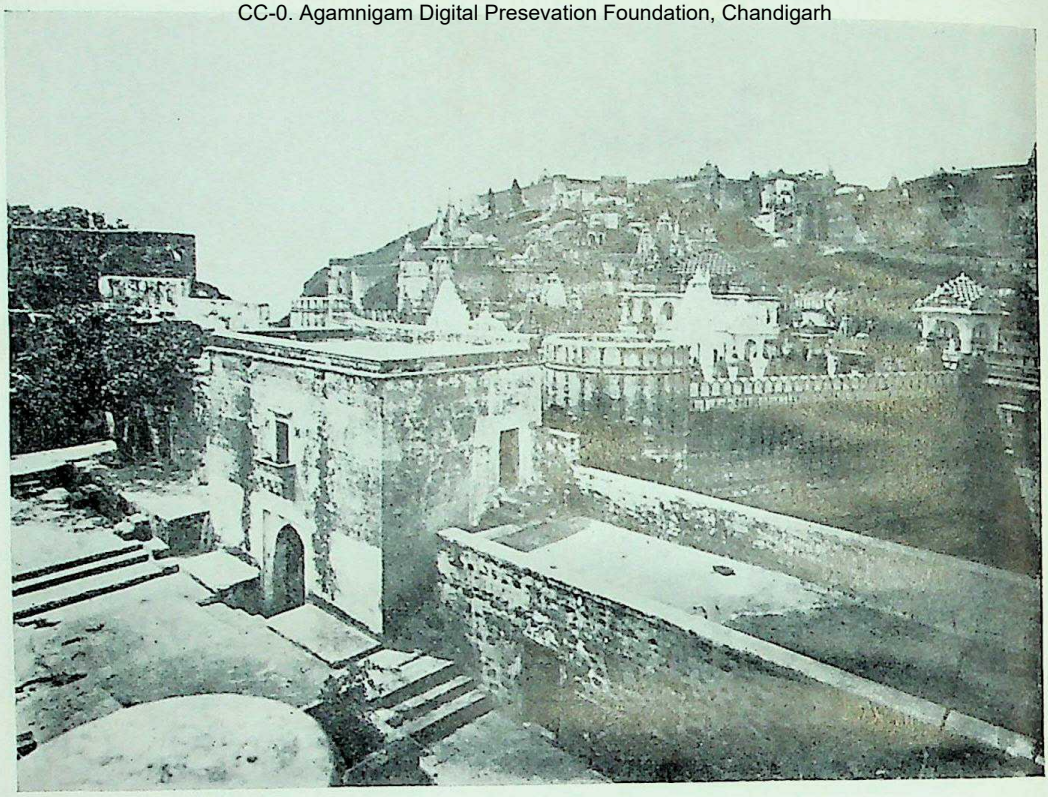
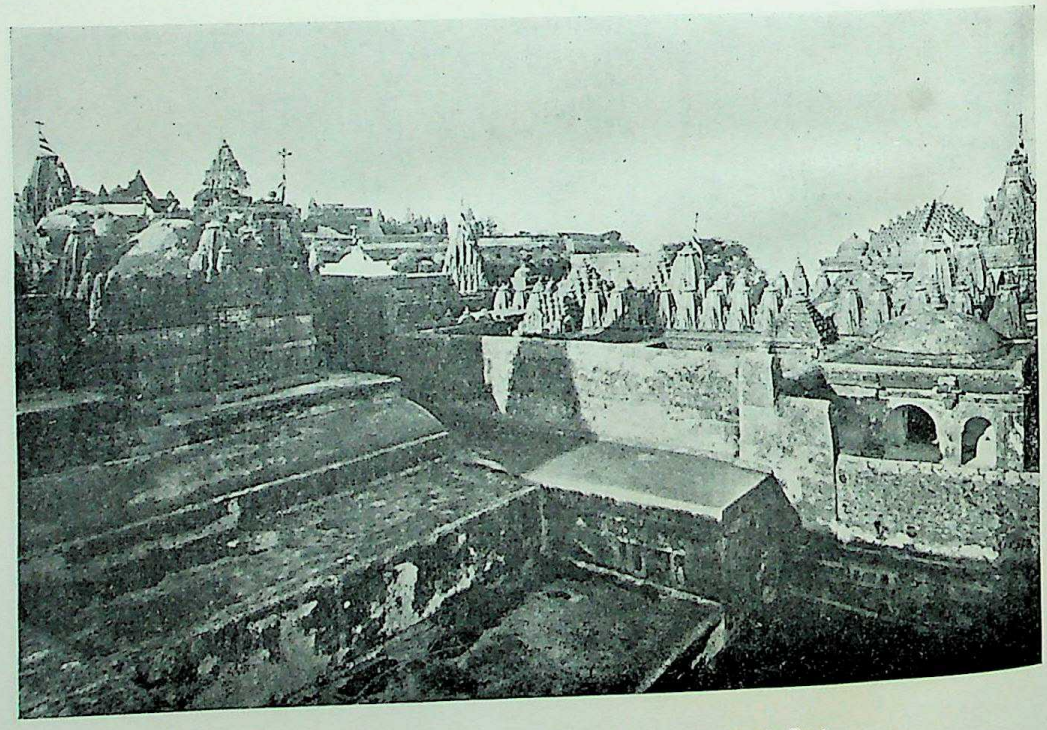
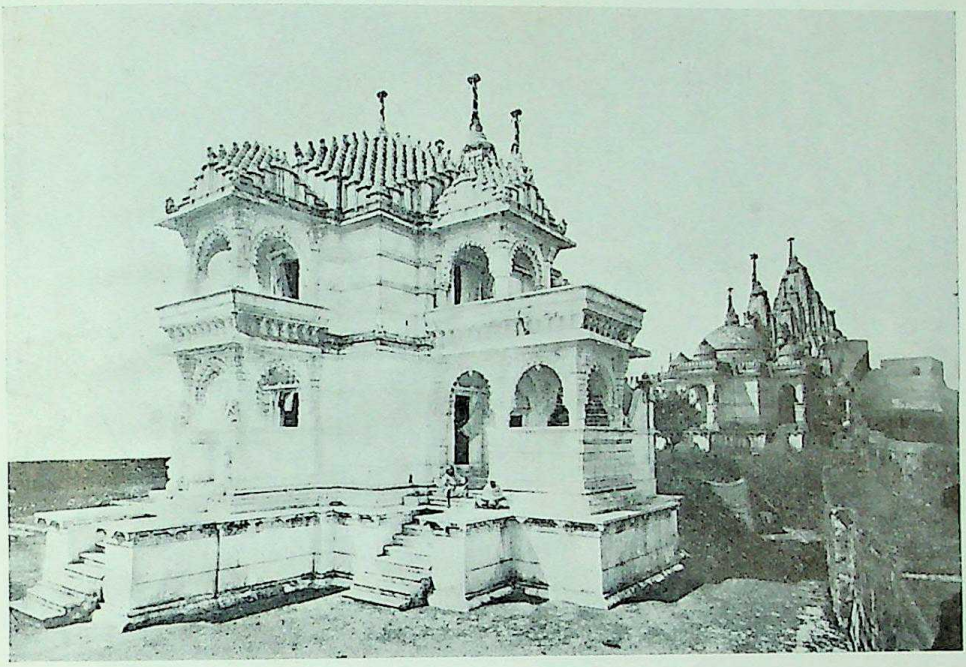


III. General View—Looking West



IV. View from behind the Bhulaoni to the North-East

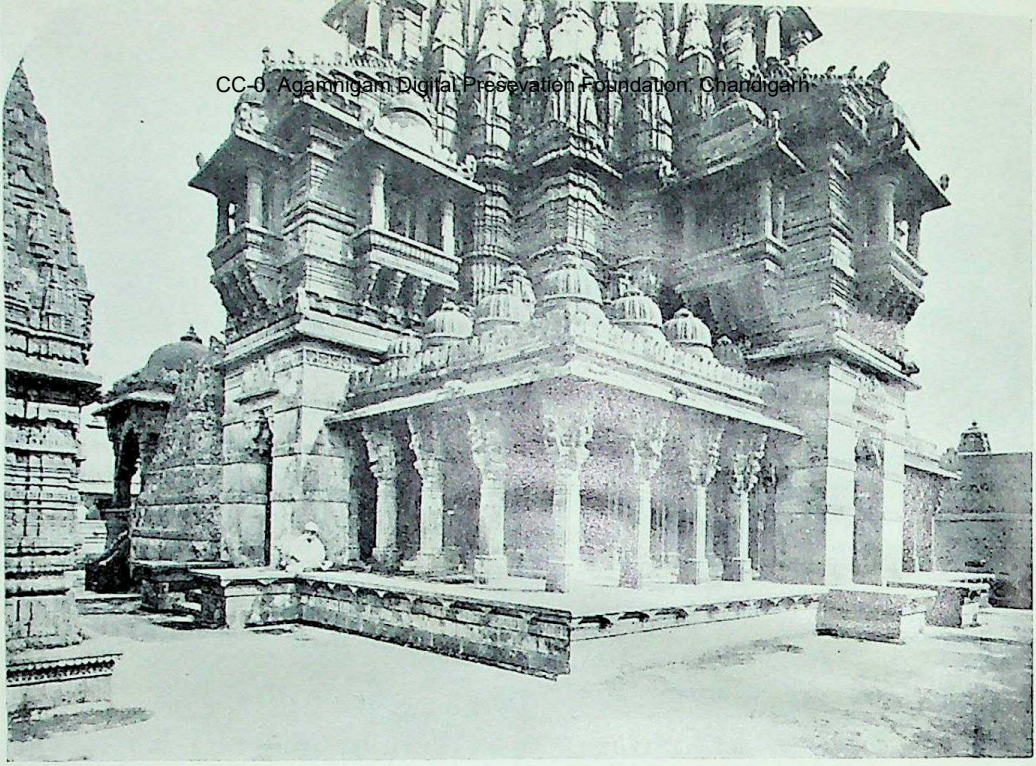
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



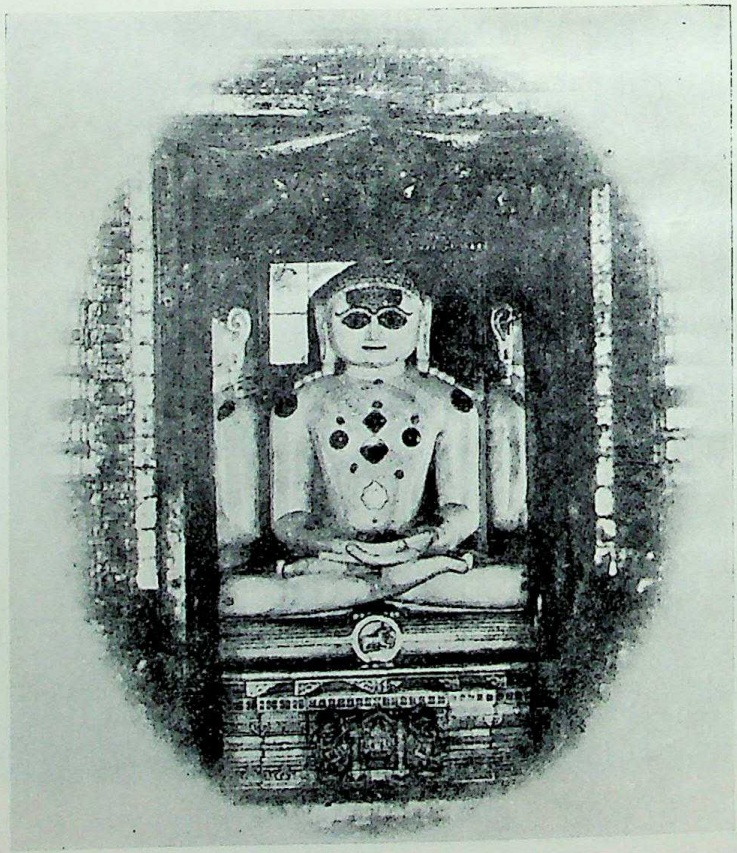
V. Temple of Kesavji Nayak

VI. The Caumukh and Other Temples

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

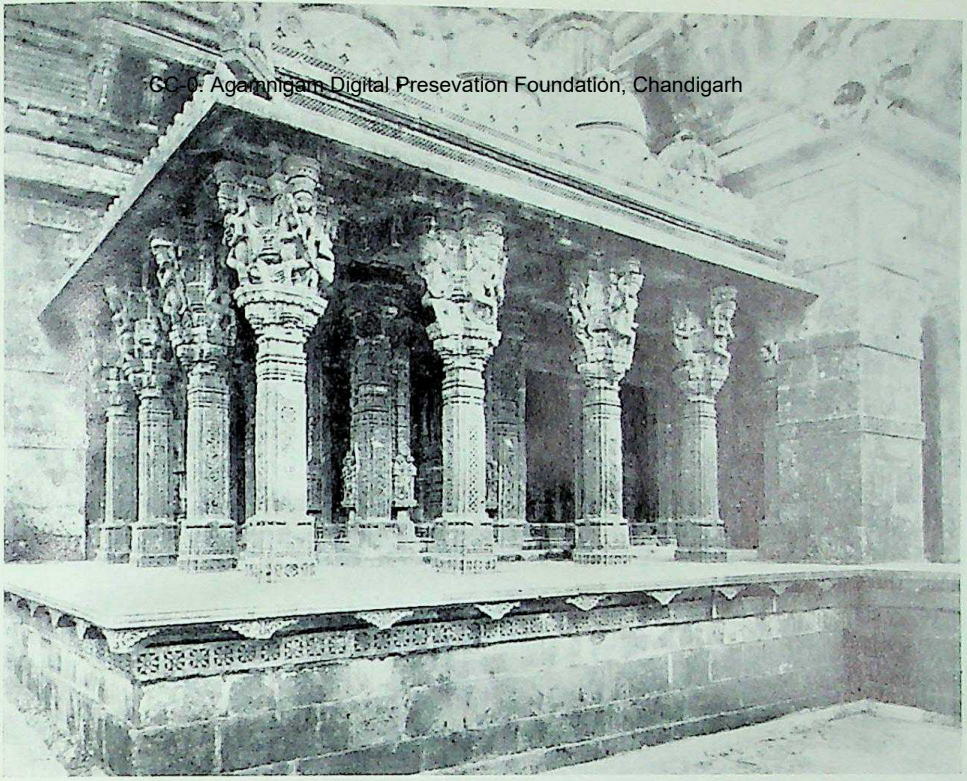


VII. The Caumukh—North-West Corner

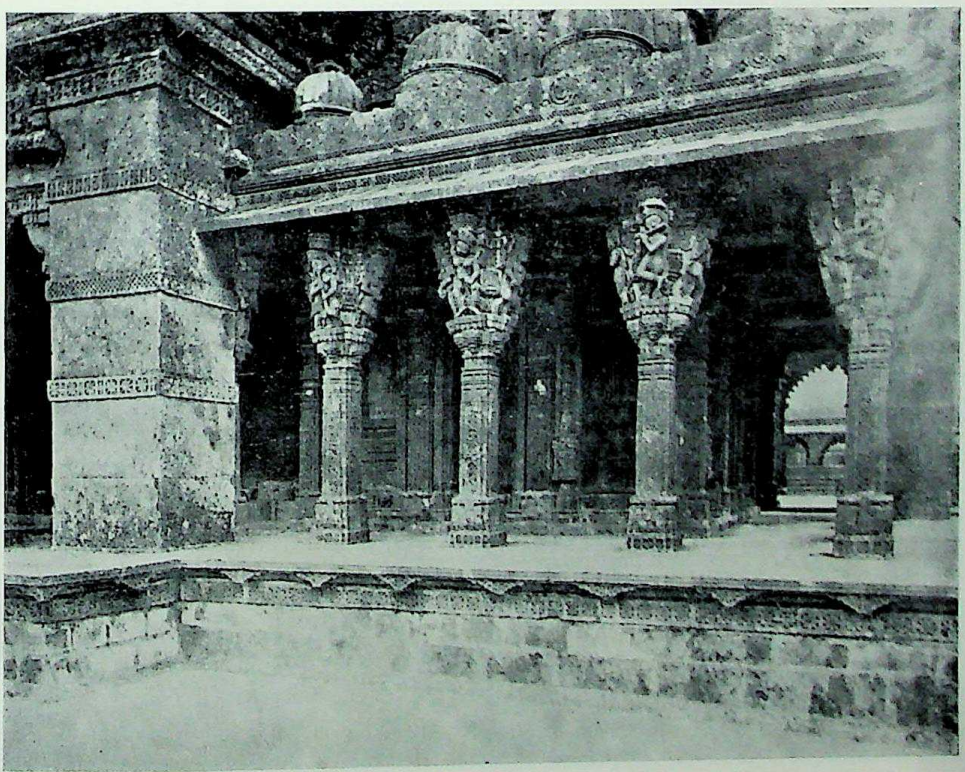


VIII. Image of Rsabhanatha, Caumukh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

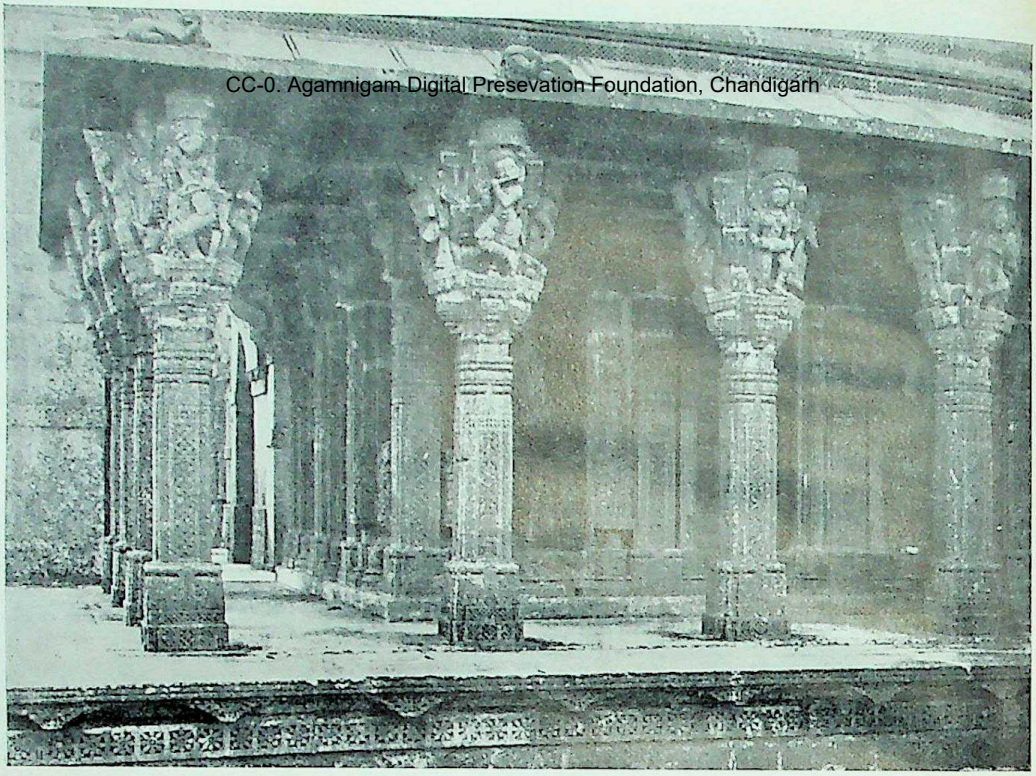


IX. Columns on the South Side of the Caumukh

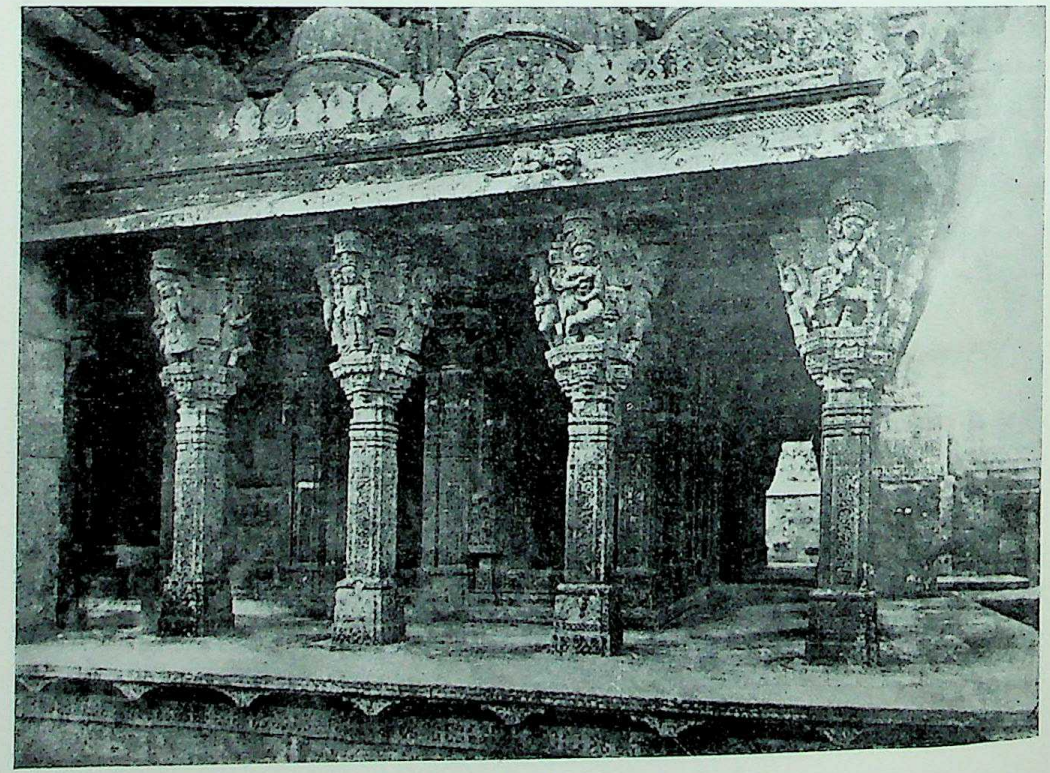


X. Columns on the West face of the Caumukh, South End

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

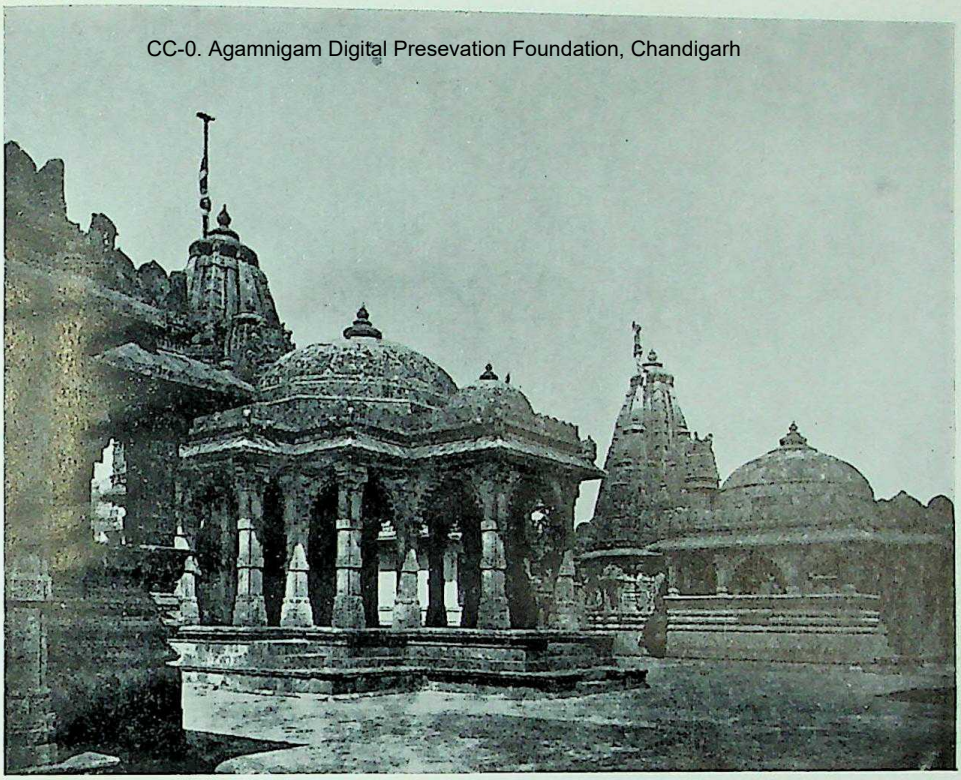


XI. Columns on the West Face of the Caumukh, North End

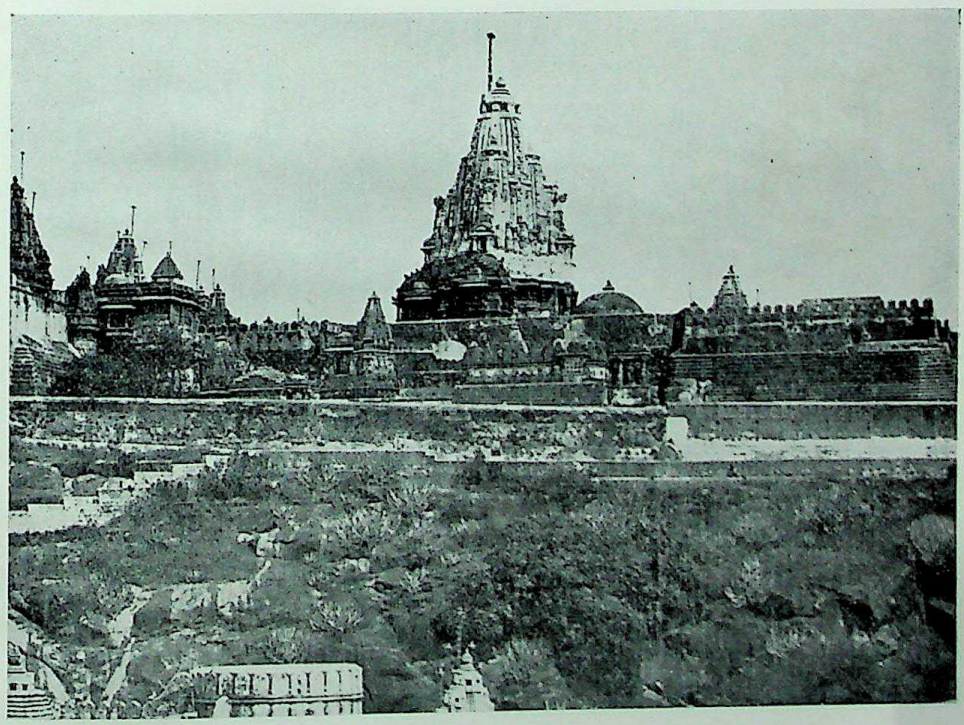


XII. Columns on the North Side of the Caumukh

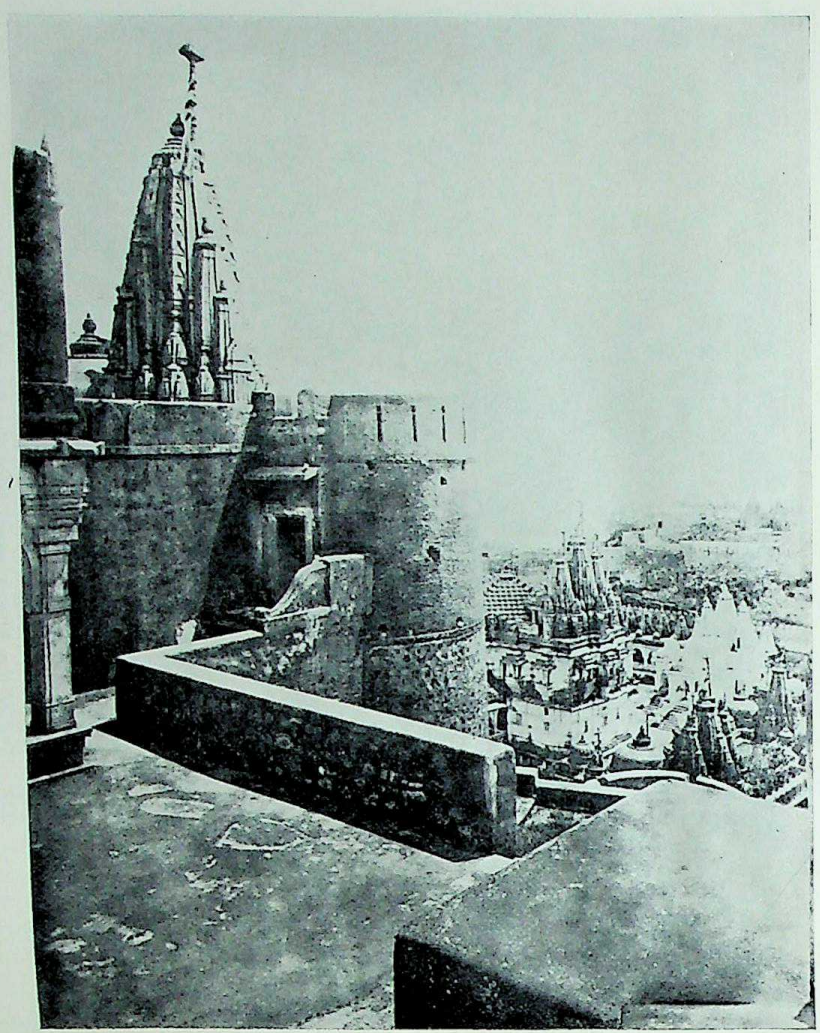
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



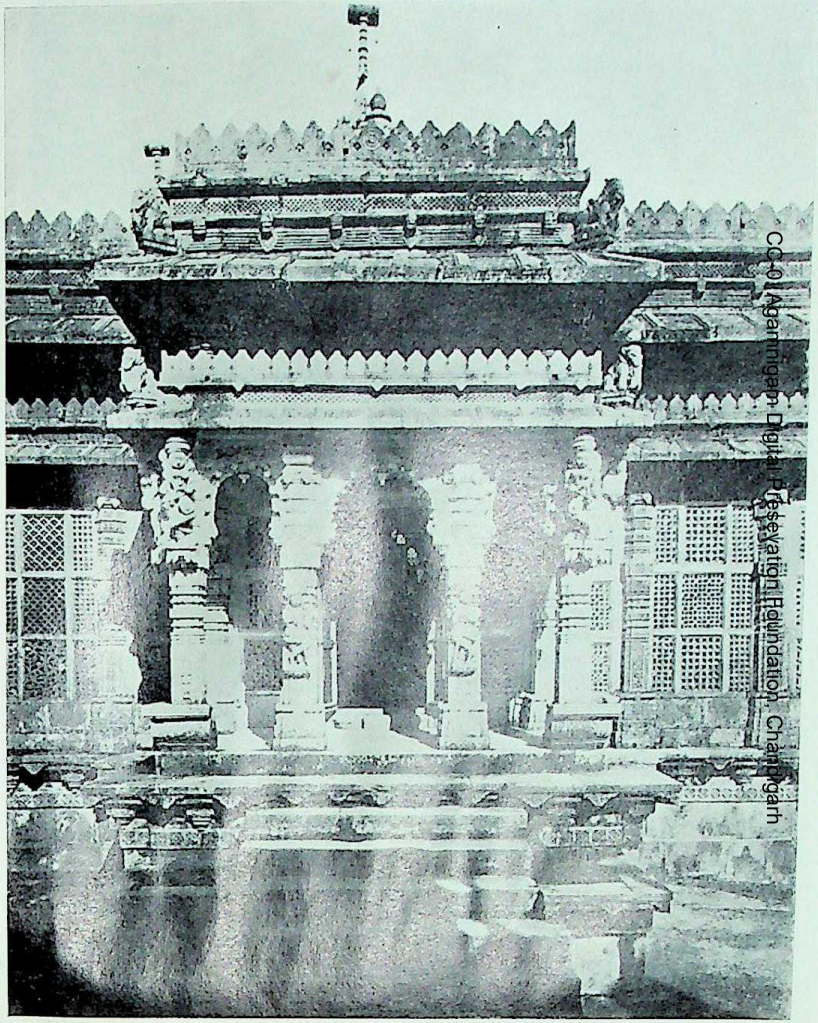
XIII. Old Temples behind the Caumukh



XIV. Tuk of the Kharataravasi from the Southern Summit



XVI. View Eastwards from the Nandisvara Dvipa



XV. Nandisvara Dvipa

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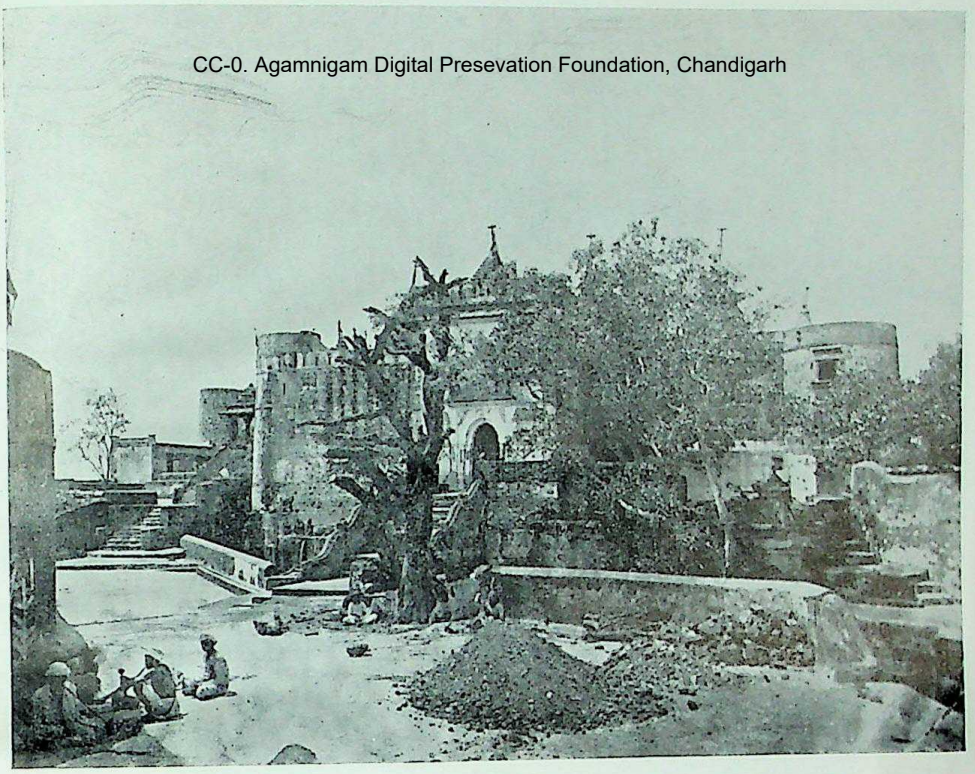
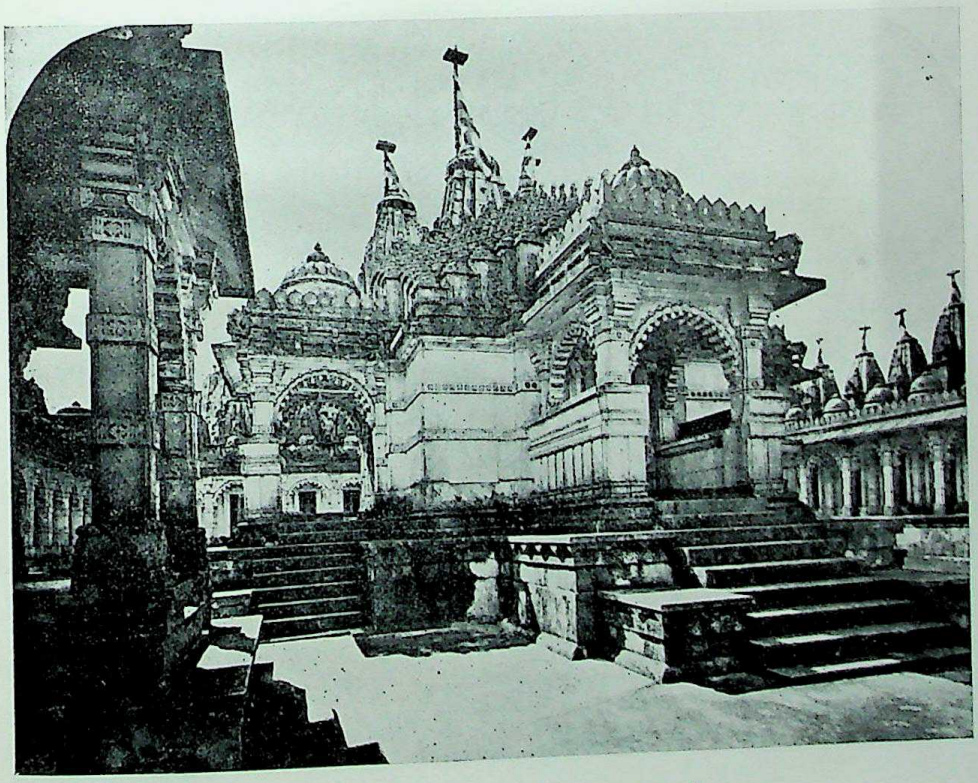
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



XVII. The Tuk of the Hemabhai Vakhatchand



XVIII. Temple of Hemabhai Vakhatchand

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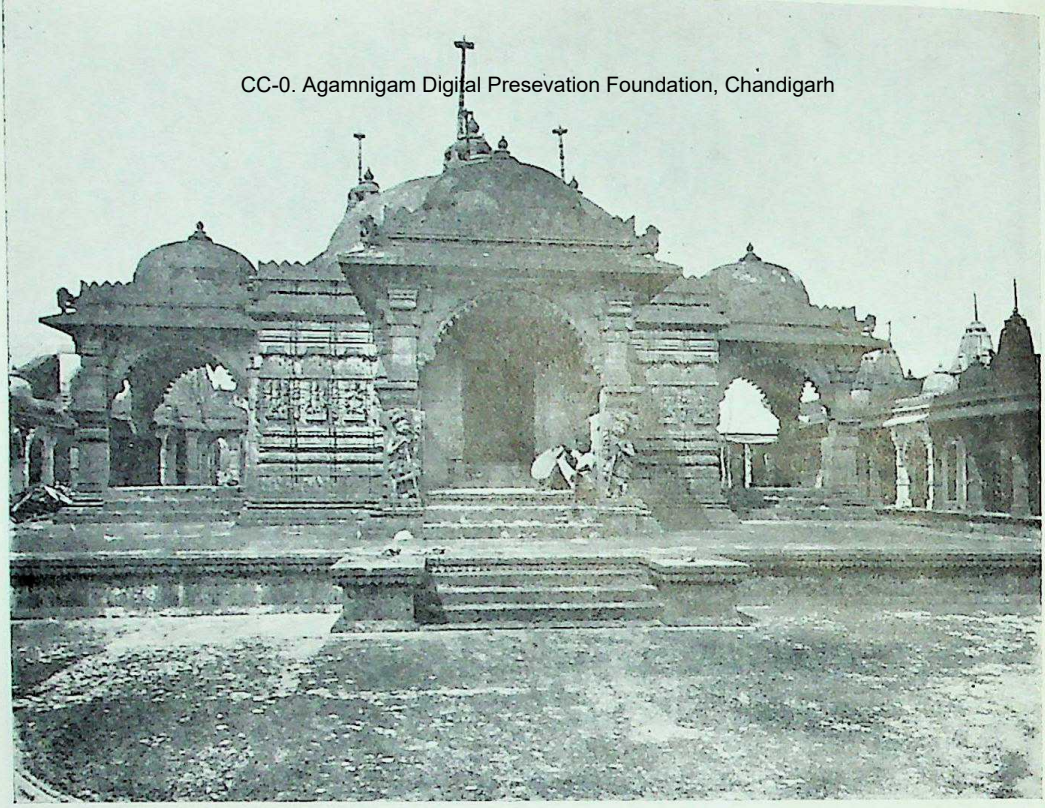
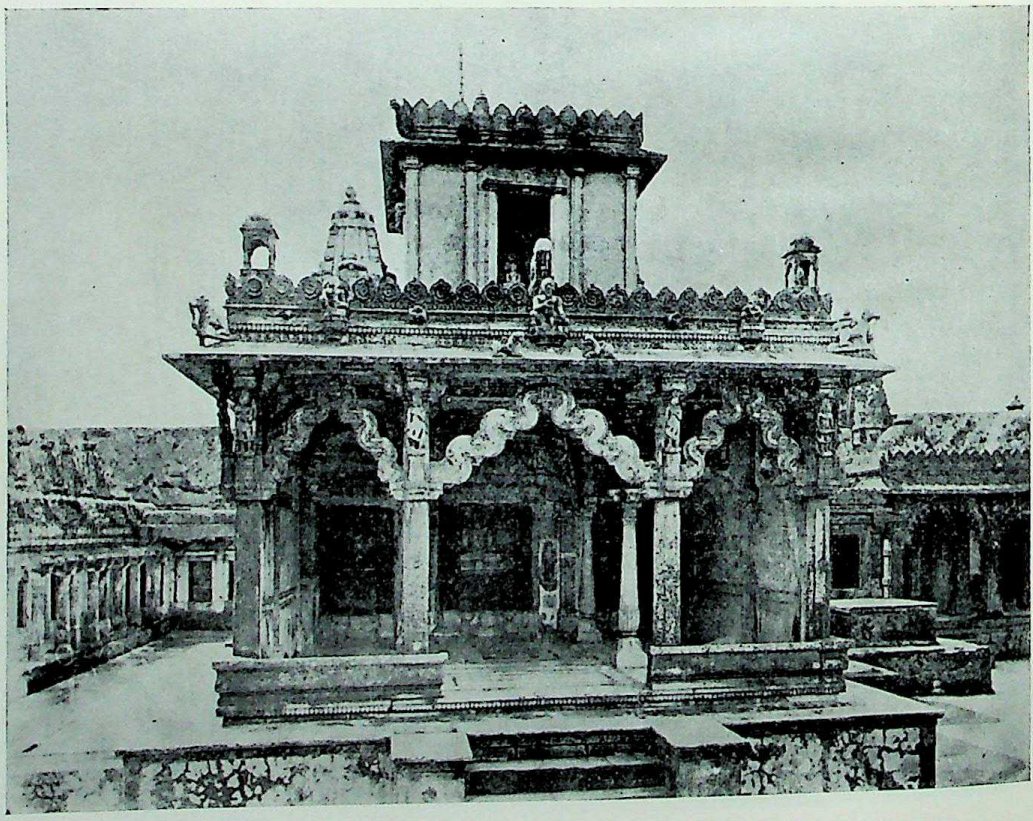


XIX. Temple of Modi Premchand Lalaji



XX. Marble Temple of Javheri Ratanchand Javherachand

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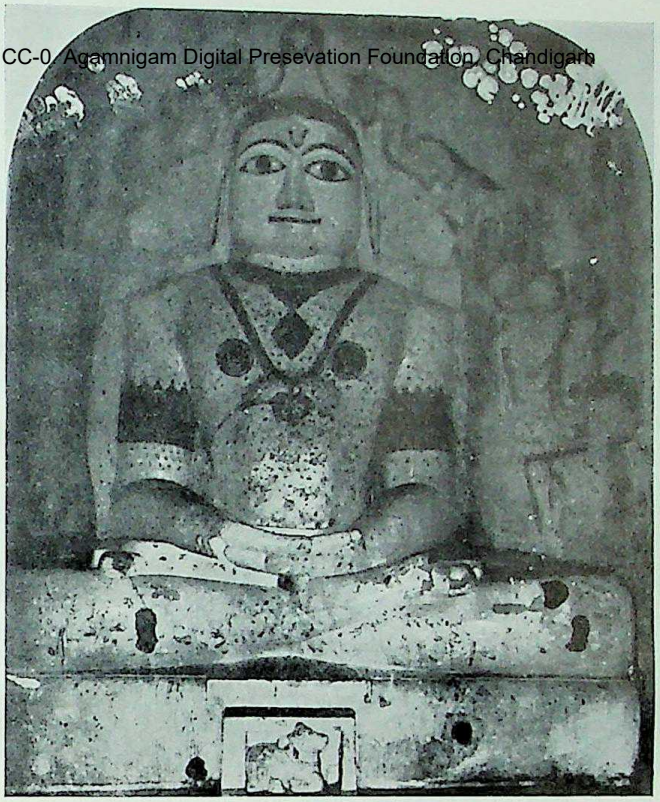
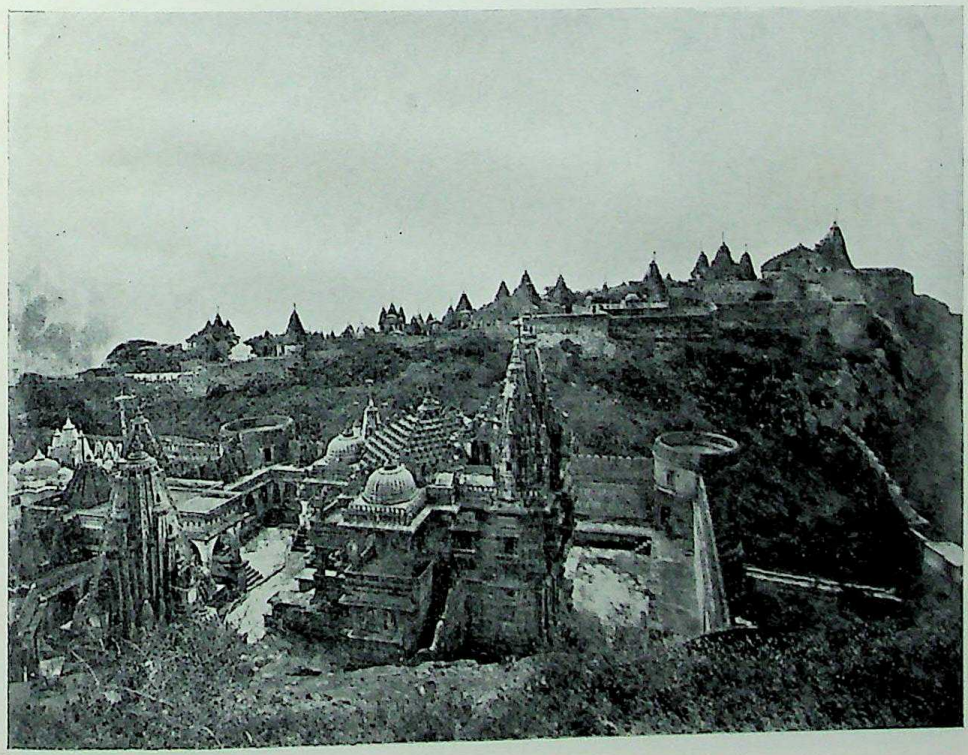


XXI. Rock-cut Image of Adibuddha



XXII. View of the Southern Summit and Balabhai Temple

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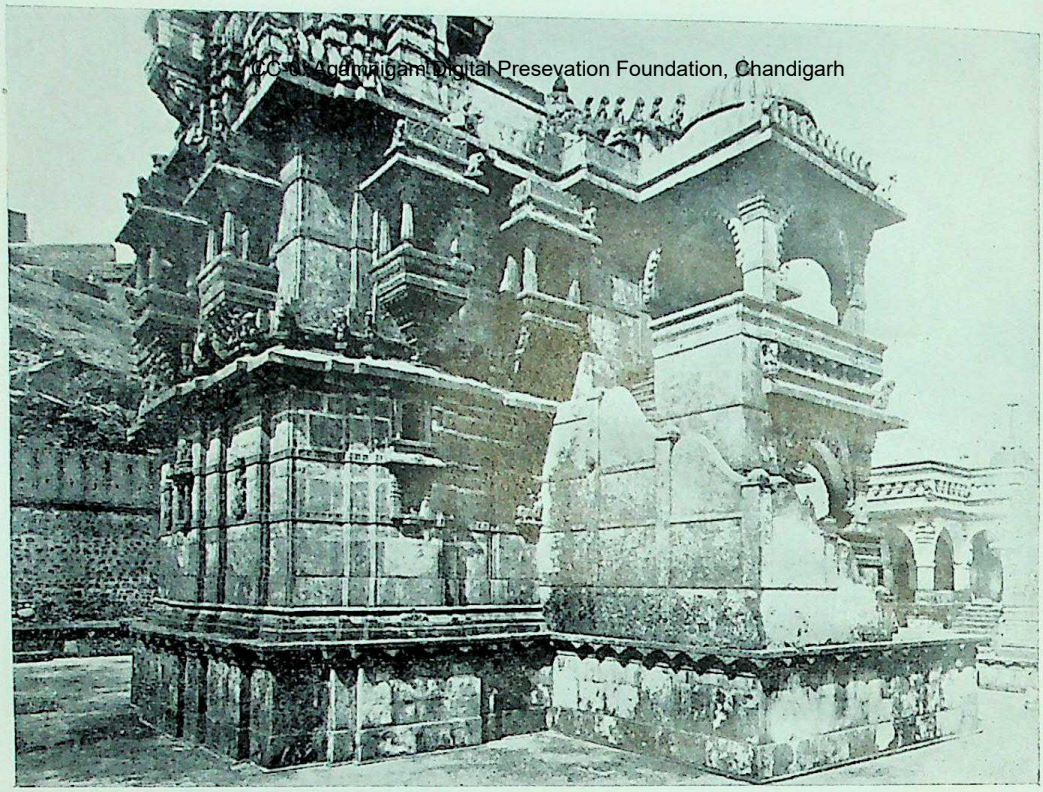
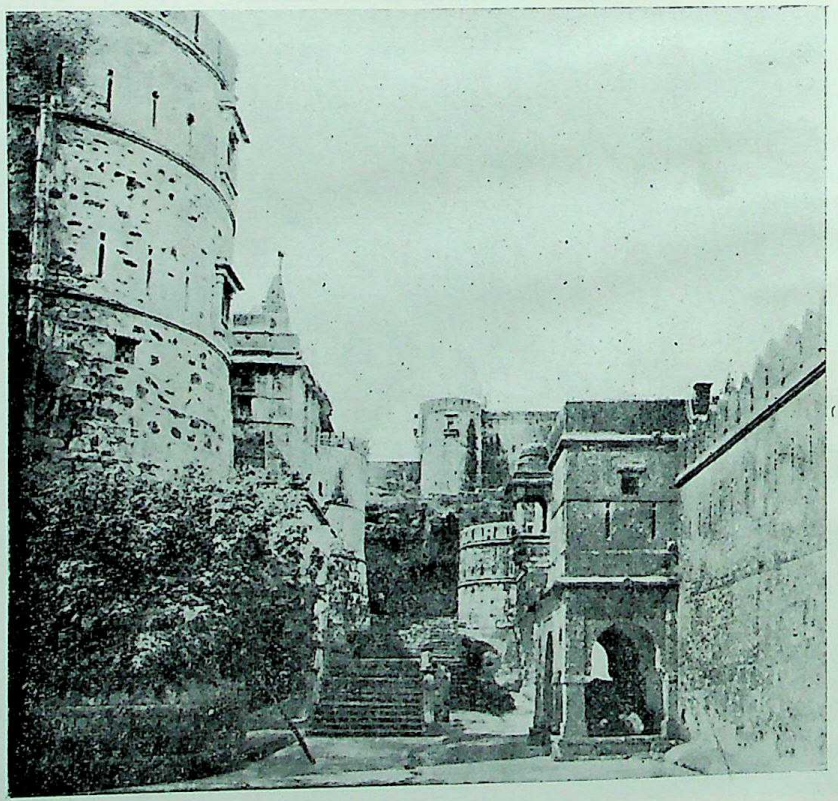
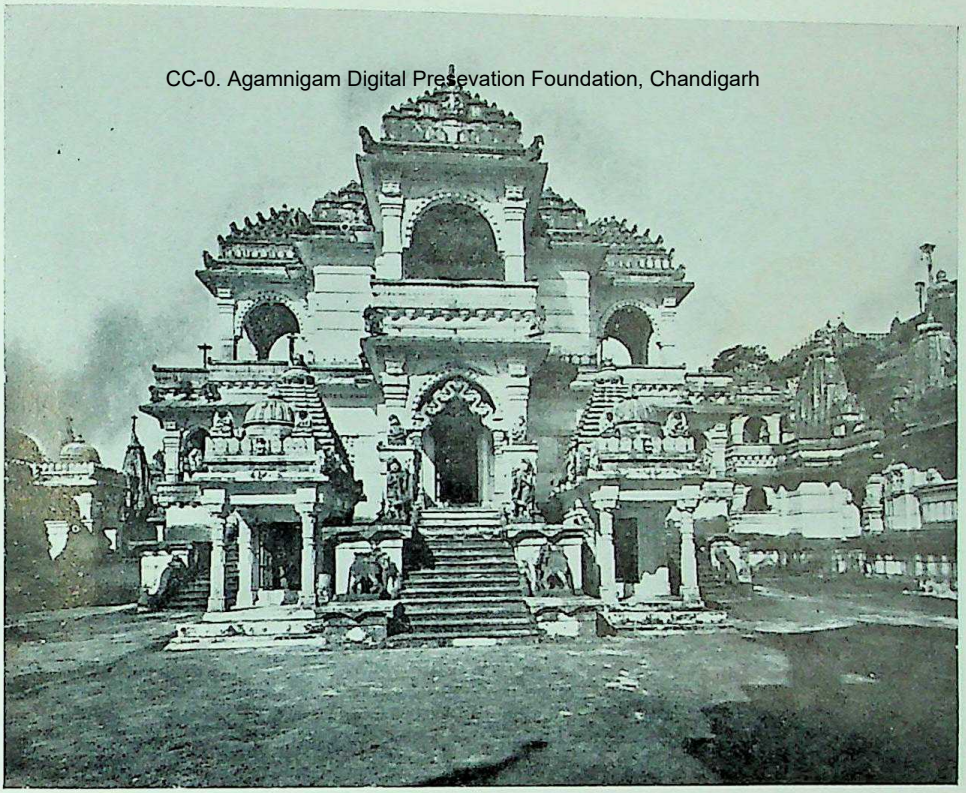


XXIII. The Balabhai Temple from the South-West

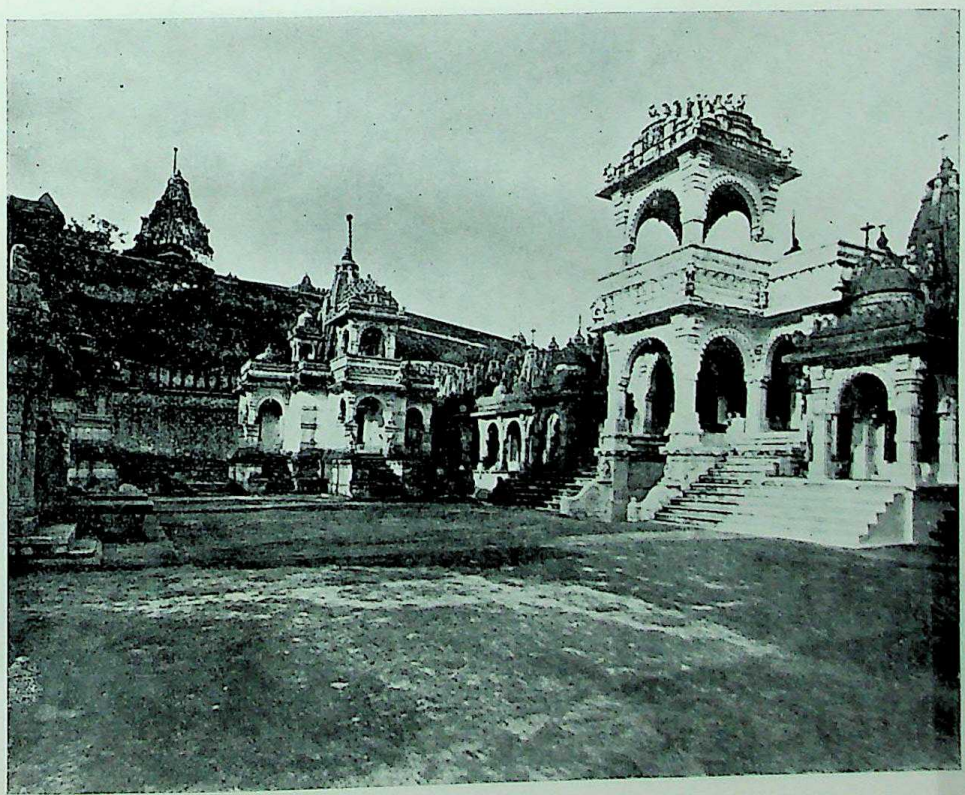


XXIV. Roadway in front of the Balabhai

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



XXV. Front of the Motisah



XXVI. Entrance Gate of the Motisah

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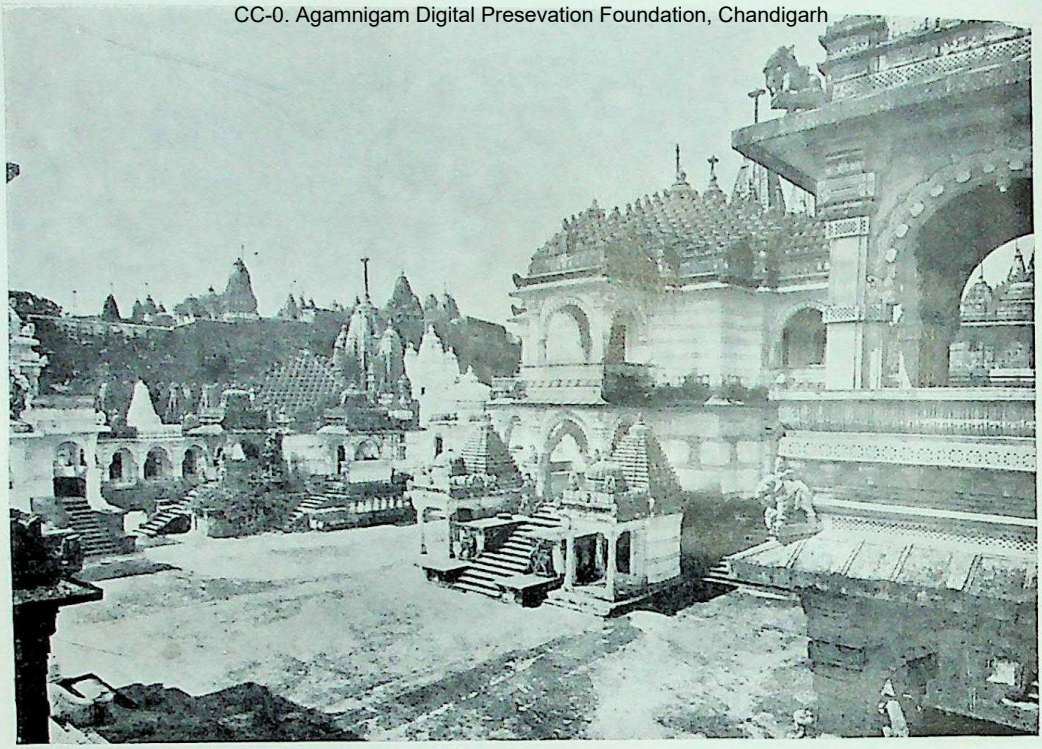
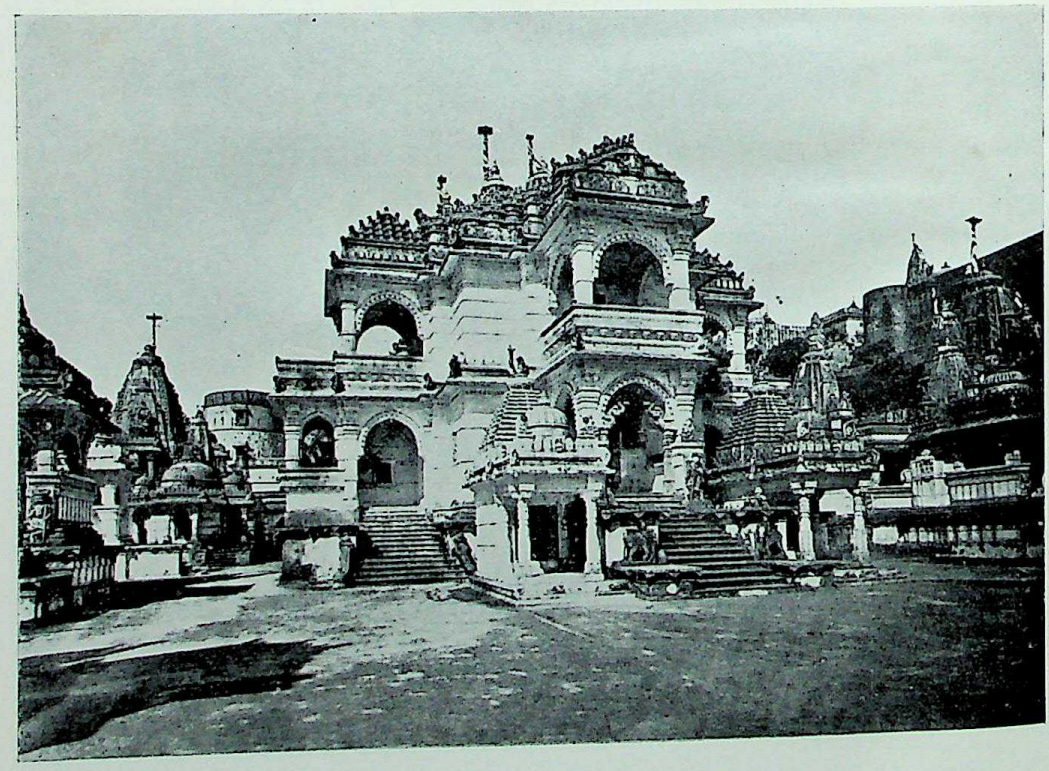
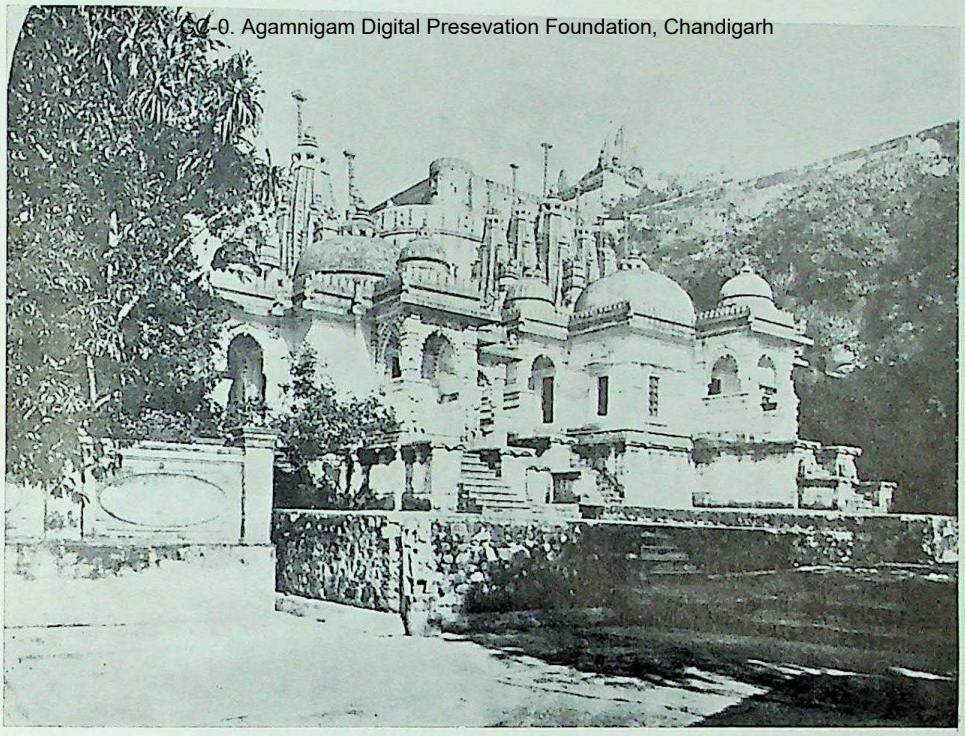


XXVII. The Motisah from the North-East Terrace



XXVIII. The Motisah from the South-East

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

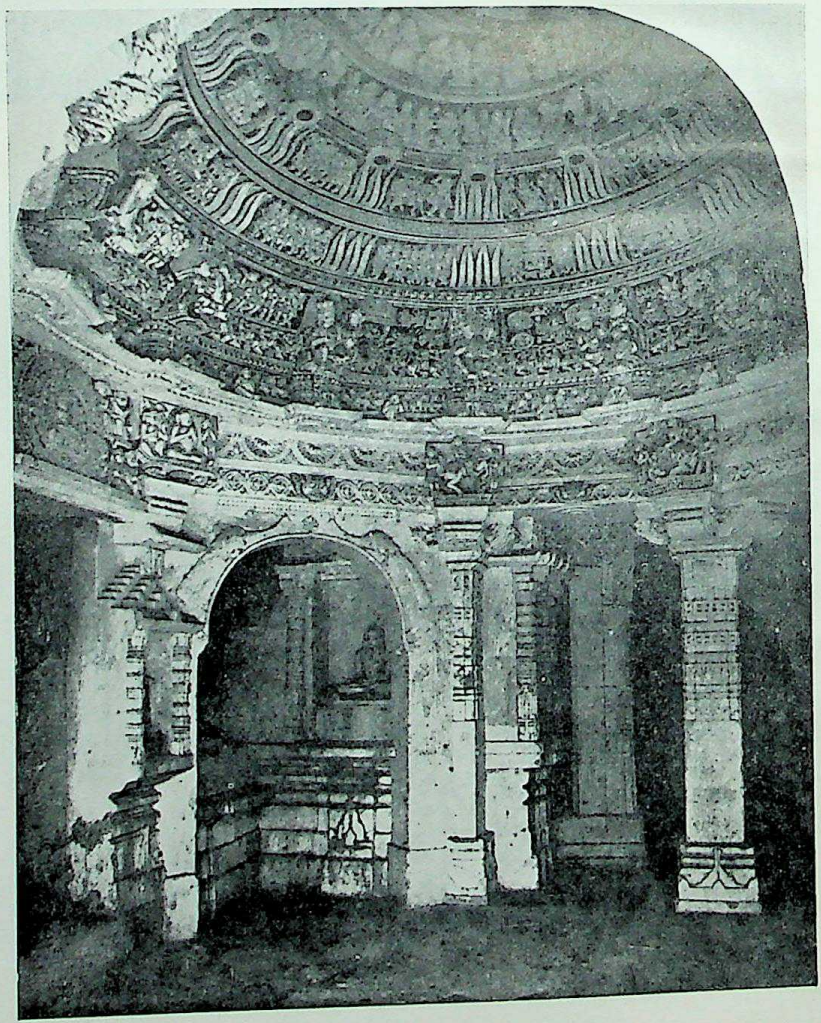


XXIX. Temples outside the Motisah Tuk

XXX General View of the Motisah Tuk from the West

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XXXI. Temple of Hirachand Raykaran



XXXII. Interior of a Room in the Bhulaoni

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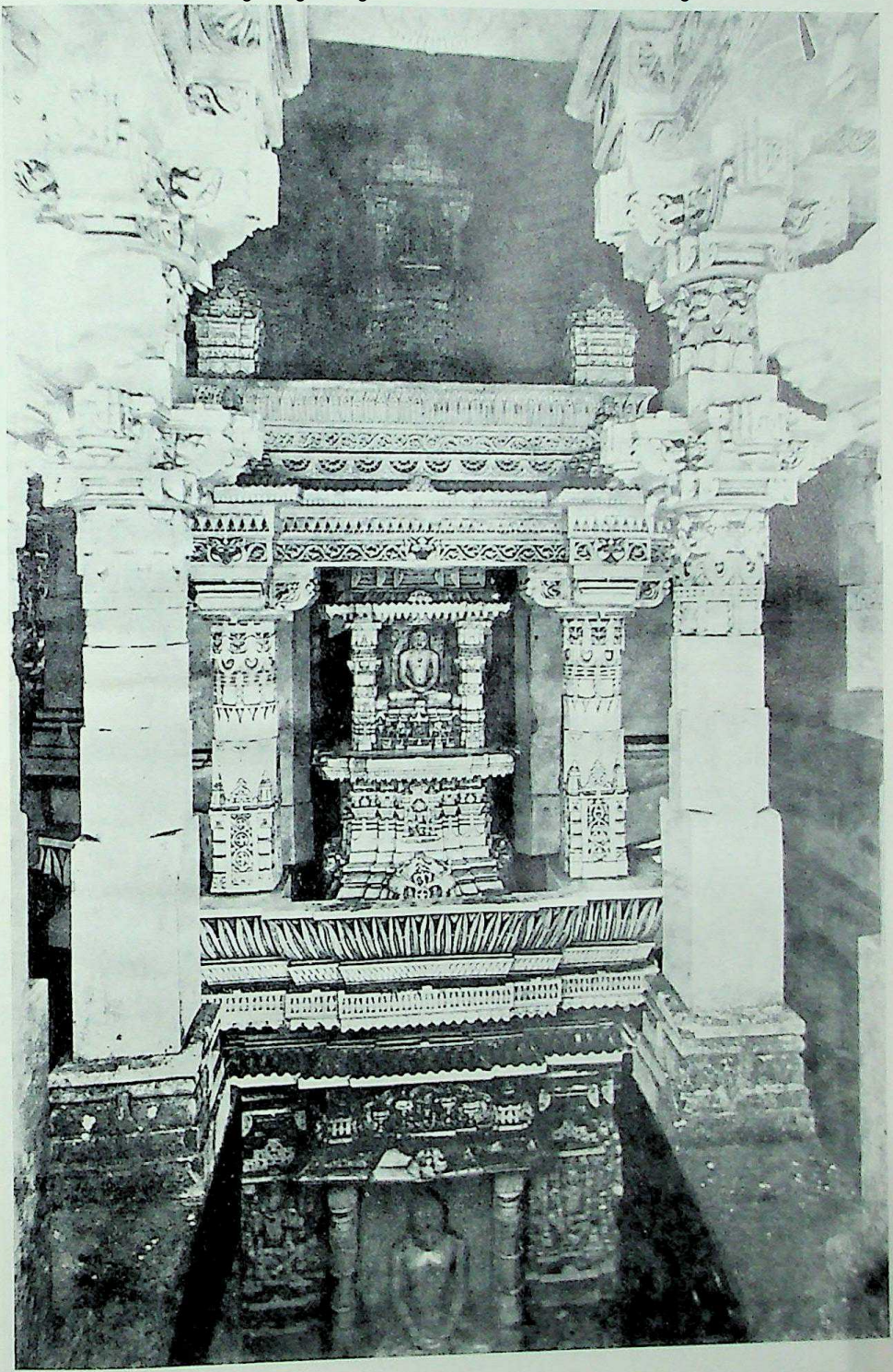
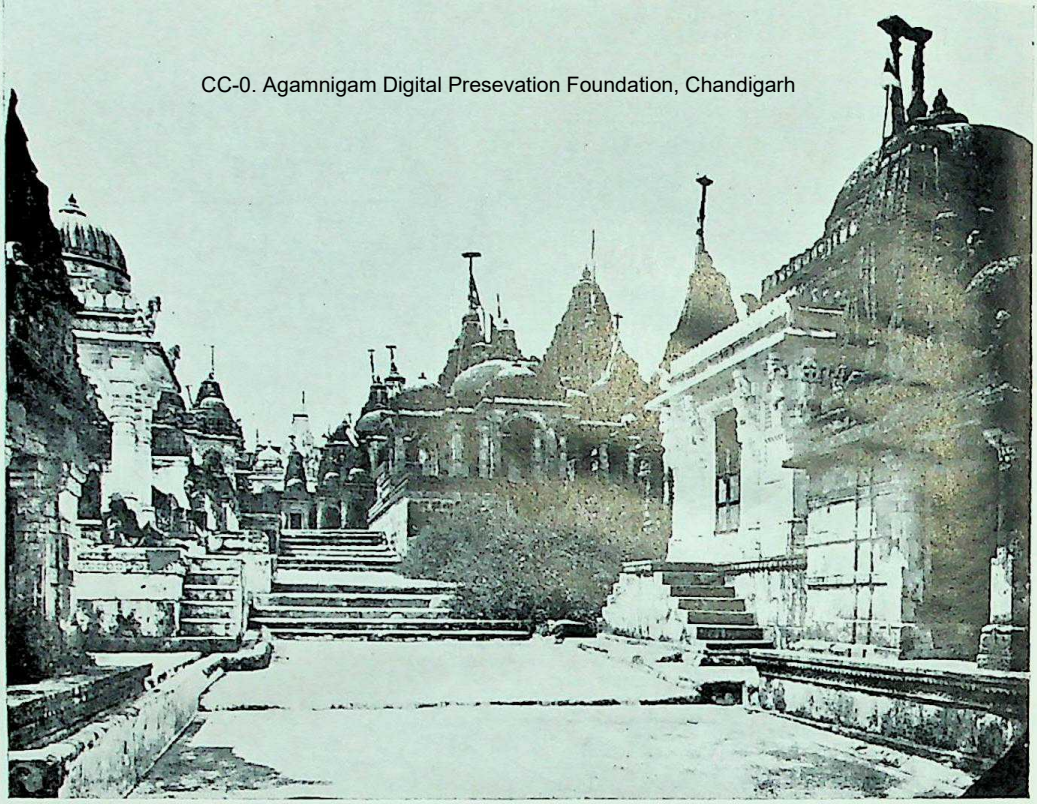
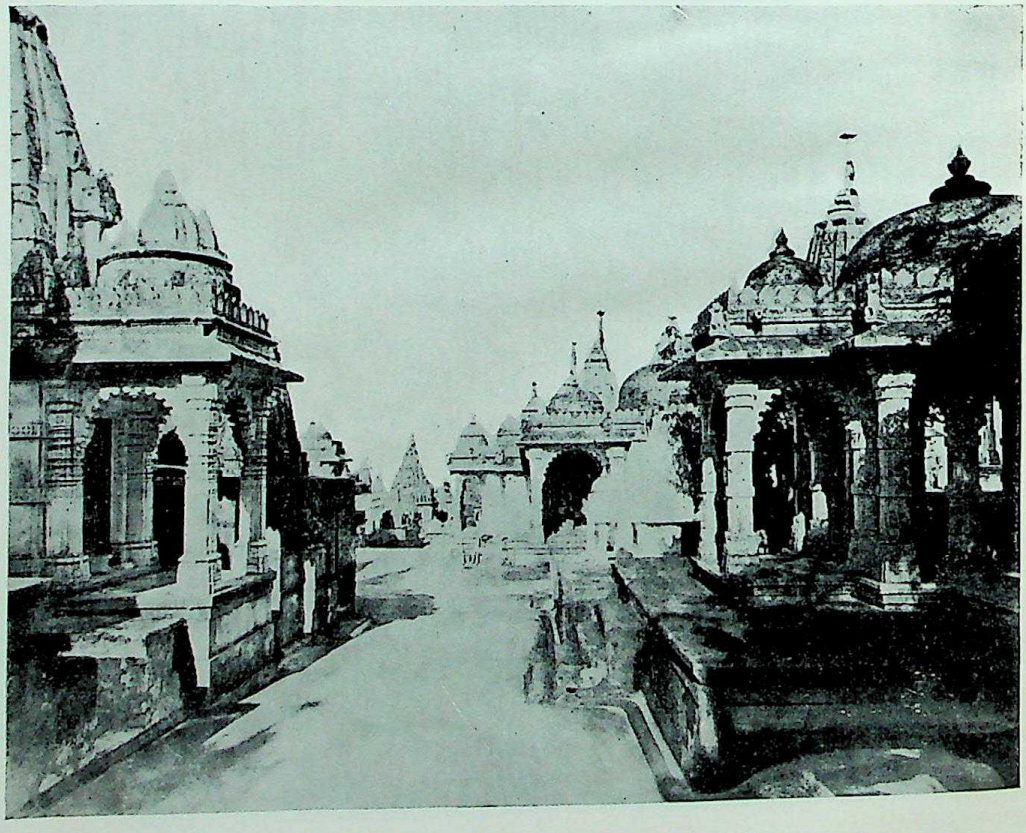


XXXIII. The Bhulaoni—Central Shrine

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

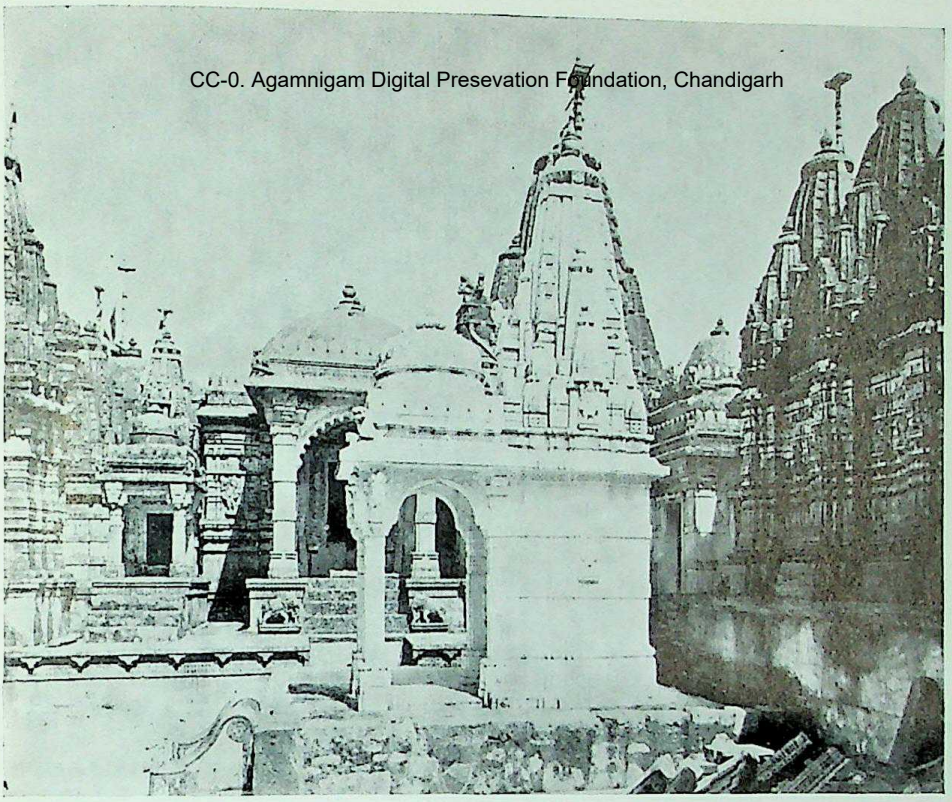


XXXIV. Looking West from the Bhulaoni

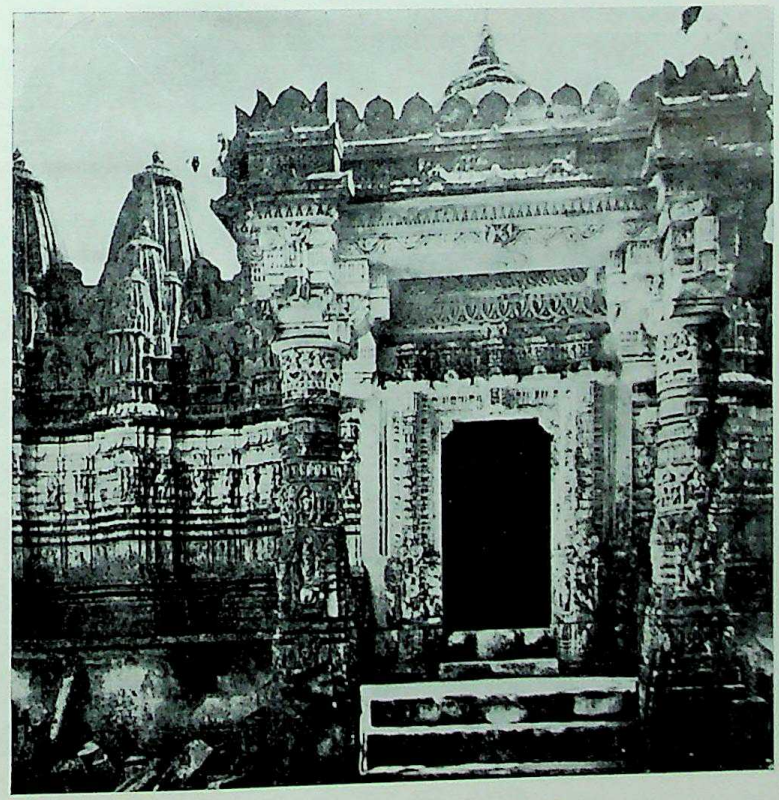


XXXV. Roadway from the Hathipole Looking East

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

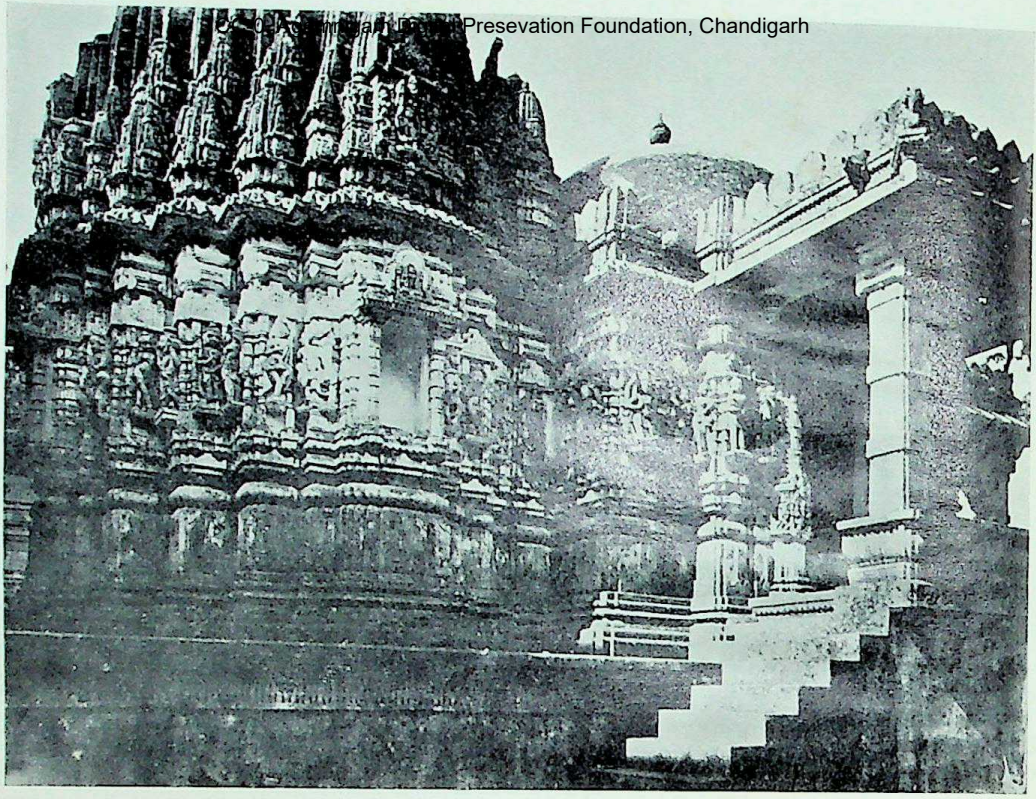


XXXVI. Group of Temples outside the Hathipole

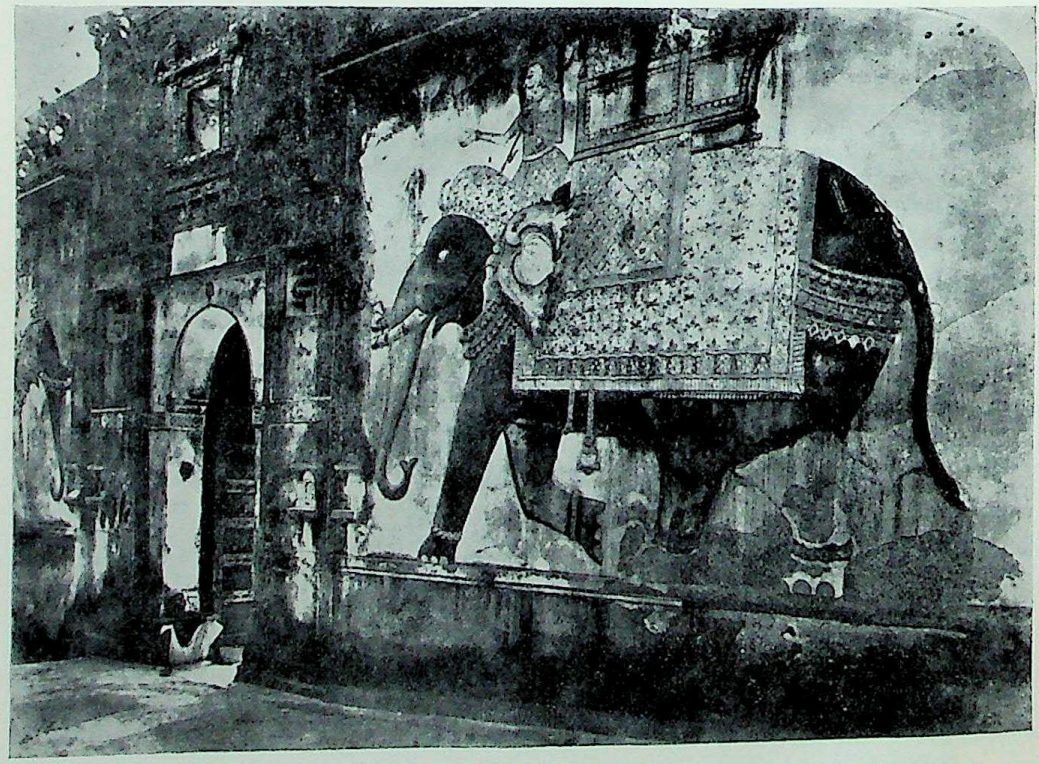


XXXVII. Entrance of the Temple of Kumarapala

CC-0. Kesarimal Jain Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

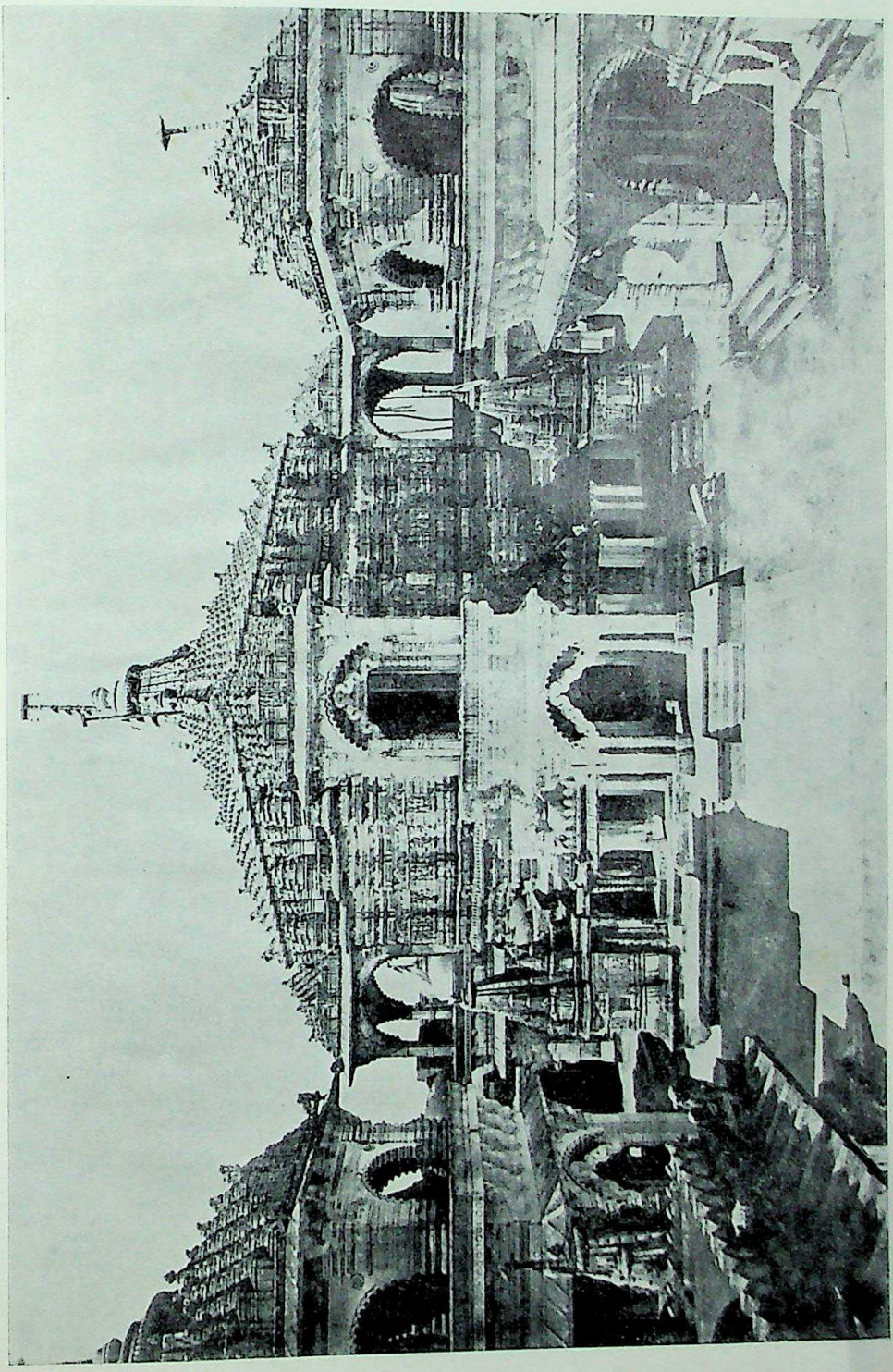


XXXVIII. Temple opposite Kumarpala's



XXXIX. The Hathipole

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



XL. The Adisvara Bhagavan

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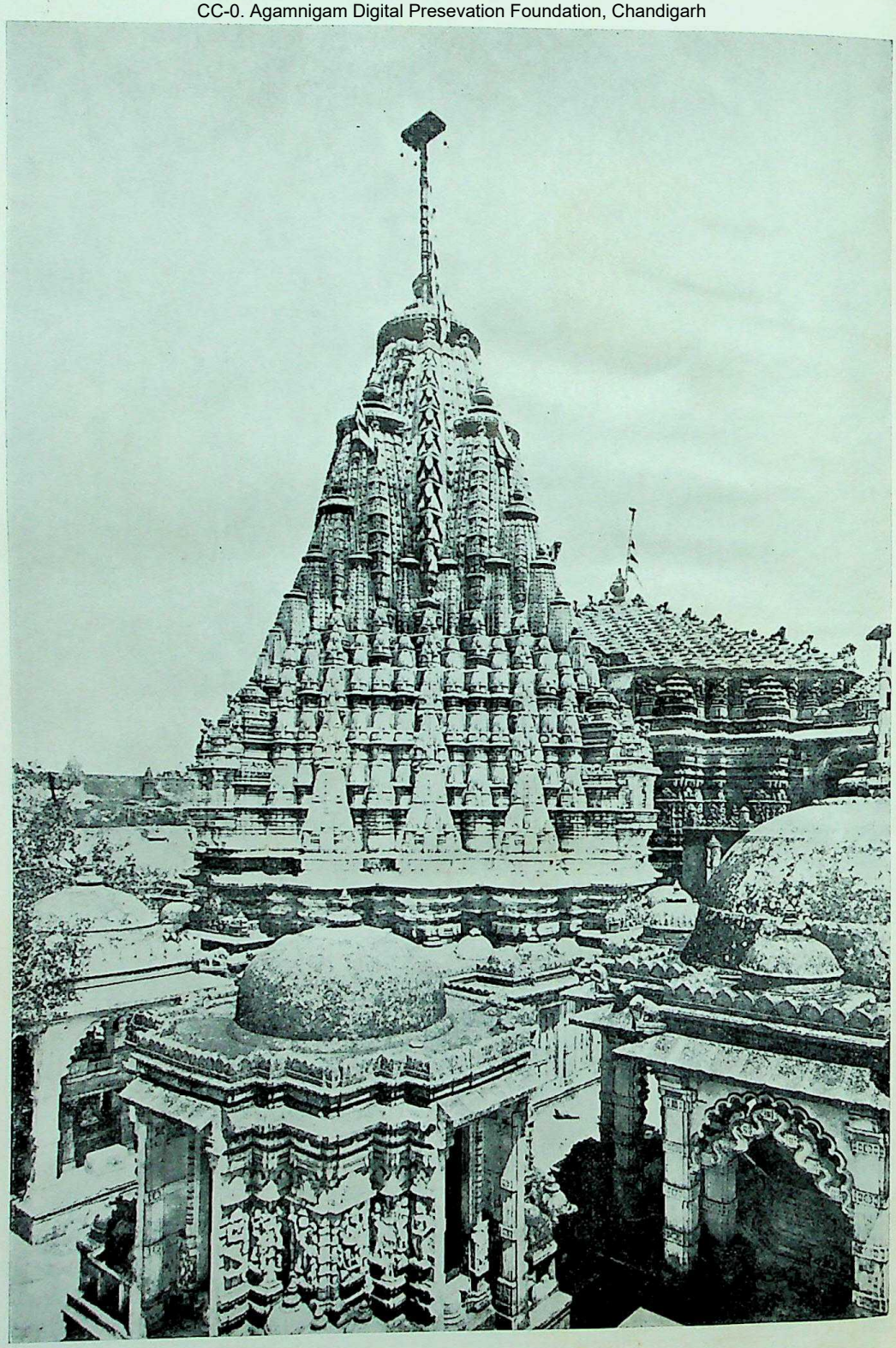
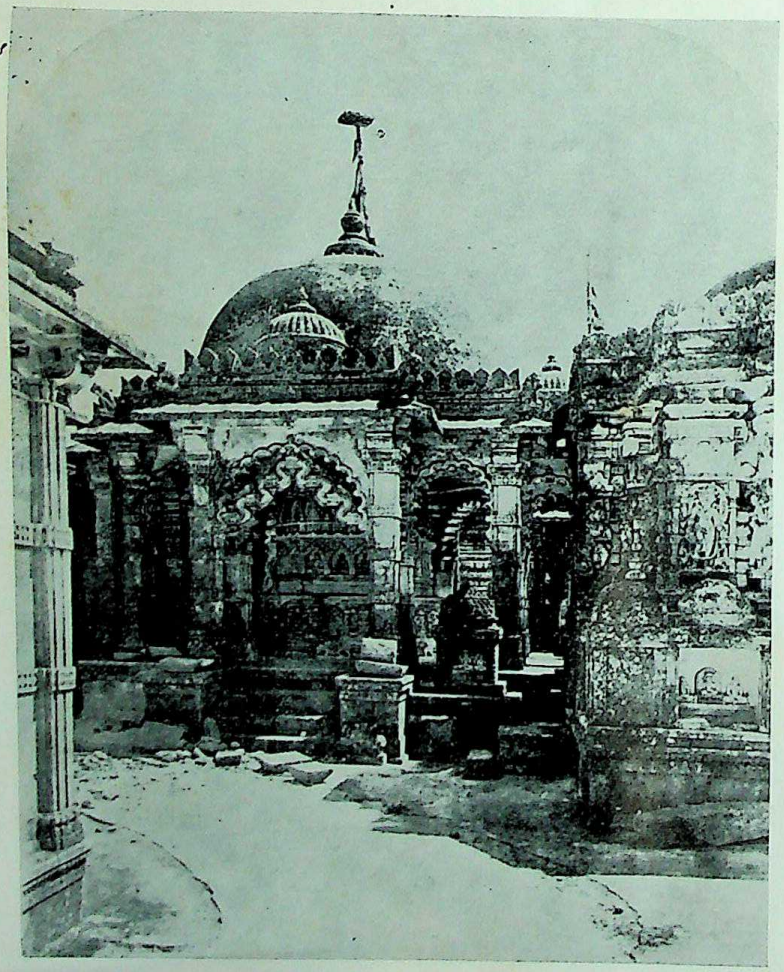
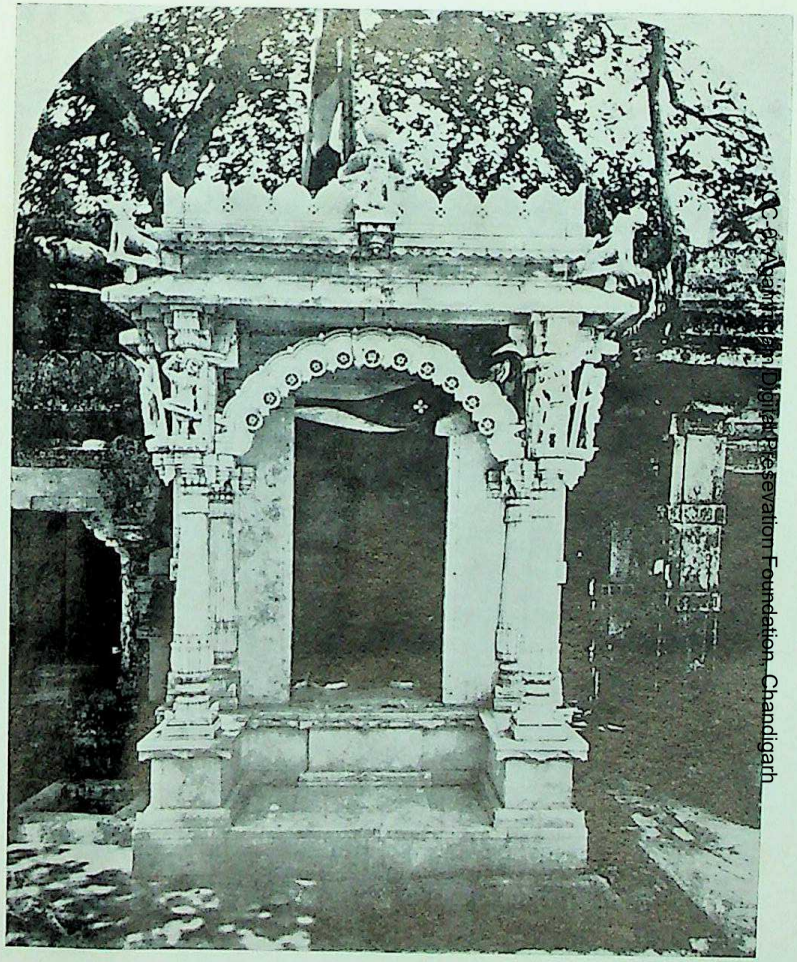


XLI. The Adisvara Bhagavan from the South-West



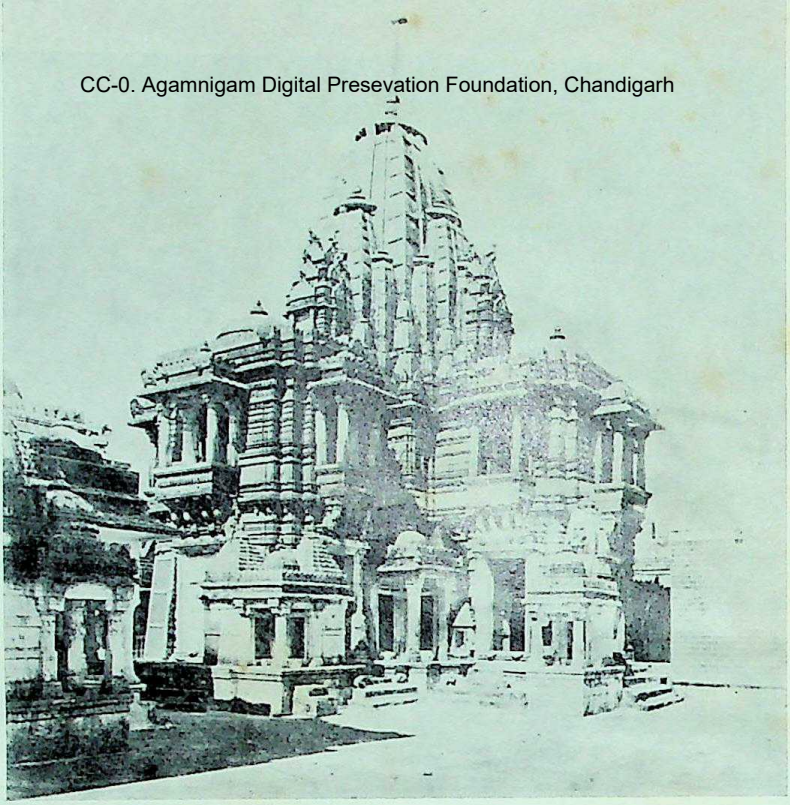
XLII. Samet Sikhar



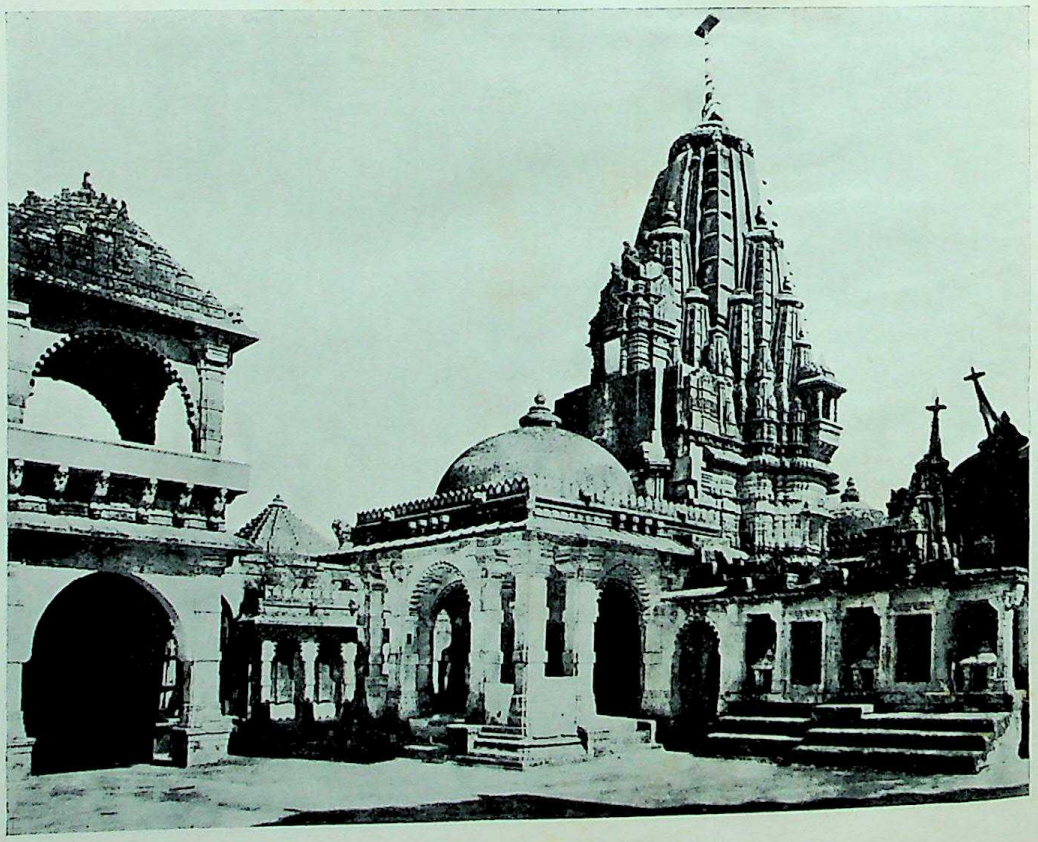
XLIII. Marble Temple of Dalpatbhai Bhagubhai

CC-0. Panjab Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



XLIV. Caumukh Temple of Ramji Gandharia



XLV. Temple in the South-East Corner of the Cauk of Adinatha

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It is truly a wonderful, unique place, a city of temples,—for, except a few tanks, there is nothing else within the gates. Through court beyond court the visitor proceeds over smooth pavements of grey *cunam*, visiting temple after temple—most of them built of stone quarried near Gopnath, but a few of marble; all elaborately sculptured, and some of striking proportions. And, as he passes along, the glassy-eyed images of pure white marble, seem to peer out at him from hundreds of cloister cells. Such a place is surely without a match in the world : and there is a cleanliness withal about every square and passage, porch and hall, that is itself no mean source of pleasure. The silence too, except at festival seasons, is striking; now and then in the mornings you hear a bell for a few seconds, or the beating of a drum for as short a time, and on holidays, chants from the larger temples meet your ear, but generally during the after part of the day the only sounds are those of vast flocks of pigeons that rush about spasmodically from the roof of one temple to that of another. Parroquets and squirrels, doves and ringdoves, abound, and peacocks are occasionally met with on the outer walls.

Satrunjaya indeed might fitly represent one of the fancied hills of eastern romance.